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DOCTORANDO: ZIMBROIANU, CRISTINA
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PROGRAMA DE DOCTORADO: D404-LENGUAS MODERNAS: INVESTIGACIÓN EN LINGÜÍSTICA, LITERATURA, CULTURA Y TRADUCCIÓN
DPTO. COORDINADOR DEL PROGRAMA: FILOLOGÍA MODERNA
TITULACIÓN DE DOCTOR EN: DOCTOR/A POR LA UNIVERSIDAD DE ALCALÁ

En el día de hoy 02/07/18, reunido el tribunal de evaluación nombrado por la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado y Doctorado de la Universidad y constituido por los miembros que suscriben la presente Acta, el aspirante defendió su Tesis Doctoral, elaborada bajo la dirección de **LUIS ALBERTO LÁZARO LAFUENTE**.

Sobre el siguiente tema: *THE RECEPTION OF EVELYN WAUGH IN SPAIN AND RUMANIA*

Finalizada la defensa y discusión de la tesis, el tribunal acordó otorgar la CALIFICACIÓN GLOBAL¹ de (no apto, aprobado, notable y sobresaliente): Sobresaliente

Alcalá de Henares, 2 de julio de 2018

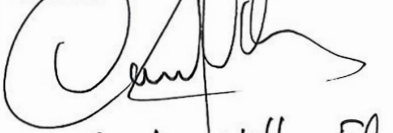
EL PRESIDENTE


Fdo.: Antonio Ballarín

EL SECRETARIO


Fdo.: Antonio Ballarín

EL VOCAL



Fdo.: Carlos Villan Fló

Con fecha 16 de julio de 2018 la Comisión Delegada de la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado, a la vista de los votos emitidos de manera anónima por el tribunal que ha juzgado la tesis, resuelve:

- ☐ Conceder la Mención de "Cum Laude"
☒ No conceder la Mención de "Cum Laude"

La Secretaria de la Comisión Delegada

FIRMA DEL ALUMNO,


Fdo.: Cristina Zimbroianu

¹ La calificación podrá ser "no apto" "aprobado" "notable" y "sobresaliente". El tribunal podrá otorgar la mención de "cum laude" si la calificación global es de sobresaliente y se emite en tal sentido el voto secreto positivo por unanimidad.

INCIDENCIAS / OBSERVACIONES:



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COMISIÓN DE ESTUDIOS OFICIALES
DE POSGRADO Y DOCTORADO

En aplicación del art. 14.7 del RD. 99/2011 y el art. 14 del Reglamento de Elaboración, Autorización y Defensa de la Tesis Doctoral, la Comisión Delegada de la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado y Doctorado, en sesión pública de fecha 16 de julio, procedió al escrutinio de los votos emitidos por los miembros del tribunal de la tesis defendida por ZIMBROIANU, CRISTINA, el día 2 de julio de 2018, titulada *THE RECEPTION OF EVELYN WAUGH IN SPAIN AND RUMANIA*, para determinar si a la misma se le concede la mención "cum laude", arrojando como resultado, 2 votos a favor y 1 en contra.

Por lo tanto, la Comisión de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado **resuelve no otorgar la Mención de "cum laude"** a dicha Tesis.

Alcalá de Henares, 18 de julio de 2018

EL VICERRECTOR DE INVESTIGACIÓN Y TRANSFERENCIA



F. Javier de la Mata de la Mata

Copia por e-mail a:

Doctorando: ZIMBROIANU, CRISTINA

Secretario del Tribunal: MARISOL MORALES LADRÓN. T.U. Dpto. Filología Moderna. UAH

Director/a de Tesis: LUIS ALBERTO LÁZARO LAFUENTE



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Comprobado que el expediente académico de D./D^a _____
reúne los requisitos exigidos para la presentación de la Tesis, de acuerdo a la normativa vigente, y habiendo
presentado la misma en formato: ☐ soporte electrónico ☐ impreso en papel, para el depósito de la
misma, en el Servicio de Estudios Oficiales de Posgrado, con el nº de páginas: _____ se procede, con
fecha de hoy a registrar el depósito de la tesis.

Alcalá de Henares a _____ de _____ de 20____



Fdo. El Funcionario



FERNANDO GALVÁN REULA, Coordinador de la Comisión Académica del Programa de Doctorado en LENGUAS MODERNAS: INVESTIGACIÓN EN LINGÜÍSTICA, LITERATURA, CULTURA Y TRADUCCIÓN (D404),

INFORMA que la Tesis Doctoral titulada “THE RECEPTION OF EVELYN WAUGH IN SPAIN AND ROMANIA”, presentada por D^a CRISTINA ZIMBROIANU, bajo la dirección del Dr. ALBERTO LÁZARO LAFUENTE, reúne los requisitos científicos de originalidad y rigor metodológicos para ser defendida ante un tribunal. Esta Comisión ha tenido también en cuenta la evaluación positiva anual del doctorando, habiendo obtenido las correspondientes competencias establecidas en el Programa.

Para que así conste y surta los efectos oportunos, se firma el presente informe en Alcalá de Henares a 21 de mayo de 2018.



Fdo.: FERNANDO GALVÁN REULA



D. ALBERTO LÁZARO, Catedrático de Filología Inglesa de la Universidad de Alcalá, tiene a bien informar:

Que el trabajo de investigación realizado por Dña. Cristina Zimbroianu *The Reception of Evelyn Waugh In Spain and Romania* reúne los requisitos científicos de originalidad, metodología y documentación necesarios para poder ser presentado y defendido como Tesis Doctoral. La formulación de los objetivos se plantea con toda claridad al comienzo del trabajo y tanto el enfoque seguido como la documentación archivística y bibliográfica utilizada son adecuados. La labor de investigación realizada ha permitido a su autora realizar un estudio comparativo de la presencia de la obra del autor británico Evelyn Waugh en España y Rumanía, deteniéndose especialmente en la respuesta que tuvo el sistema de censura establecido durante los regímenes totalitarios de estos dos países en el siglo XX. Los resultados obtenidos, en opinión del abajo firmante, director del trabajo, pueden ser de gran interés y provechosos para el avance del conocimiento en el ámbito de la literatura británica del siglo XX.

Para que así conste y surta los efectos oportunos, se firma el presente informe en Alcalá de Henares a 17 de mayo de 2018.



**Programa de Doctorado
en Lenguas Modernas: Investigación en
Lingüística, Literatura, Cultura y Traducción**

THE RECEPTION OF EVELYN WAUGH IN SPAIN AND ROMANIA

Tesis Doctoral presentada por

CRISTINA ZIMBROIANU

Director:

DR. Alberto Lázaro Lafuente

Alcalá de Henares, 17 de mayo de 2018



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INTRODUCTION

Arthur Evelyn St. John Waugh (1903-1966) was one of the greatest writers of the twentieth century known for his travel books, autobiographies and satires which denounce the follies of not only the British society but also of all those societies the author encountered as newspaper correspondent and officer during the Second World War. Some of his outstanding satirical novels are *Decline and Fall* (1928), *Vile Bodies* (1930), *Black Mischief* (1932), *Scoop* (1933), *The Loved One* (1948), *A Handful of Dust* (1934), and *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), being this his most famous novel adapted to a television series in 1981. Waugh's conversion to Roman Catholicism in 1930 allowed the author to express his right-wing Catholic views in non-fiction books like *Edmund Campion* (1935) and *Rubbery under Law* (1939). His work also includes a series of travel books aimed at evaluating and commenting on many of the foreign cultures that the author encountered while travelling. Waugh's journeys to Malta, Constantinople, Cairo, Spain, Abyssinia, Mexico and other places, represented the raw material for his main travel books such as *Labels* (1930), *Remote People* (1931), *Waugh in Abyssinia* (1936), *Robbery under Law* (1939), *Ninety-Two Days* (1943), *The Holy Places* (1952) and *A Tourist in Africa* (1960).

The author's satires, travel books and Catholic beliefs instigated controversy among his critics, which may be divided into three groups. The first comprises the left-wing critics on both sides of the Atlantic, like David Pryce-Jones and Edmund Wilson, who considered, as Patrick Adcock (1998) states, "his religious views superstitious, his social views antediluvian, his political views

reactionary, and his views on black-white relations racist. In short, he was caricatured as every sort of ideological villain" (p. 1). The second group includes all those intellectuals such as Rebecca West and Malcolm Bradbury who, according to Martin Stannard (1984), regarded Waugh's work as an "accurate social documentary" (p. 9). The last group involves critics, for instance James F. Carens (1966), who reacted negatively to Waugh's writing claiming that Waugh's satire was "negative and destructive; and, consequently, Waugh was criticized for lacking a high moral purpose and writing satire without a moral centre" (1966, p. 70).

Waugh's novels also caused controversy among his editors who made difficult the publishing of Waugh's first satirical novel *Decline and Fall*. The novel was initially rejected for "indelicacy" by Duckworth publishers. *Decline and Fall* was finally accepted by Waugh's father's publishing house, Chapman & Hall, on the condition that Waugh approved all the changes that the editor Ralph Strauss required in the manuscript "for reasons of propriety and literary improvement" (as cited in Doyle, 1967). Waugh accepted these changes, and a modified version was published in 1928. In the 1962 edition, Waugh restored the original text and P. A. Doyle (1967) provided some differences between the standard edition of 1928 and the restored edition of 1962. For instance, a sentence that made reference to Communism was only published in the 1962 edition: "it reminds me of the communist rising in Budapest when I was on the debt commission". Doyle (1967) clarified that this sentence was probably deleted from the 1928 edition in order to prevent the conduct of an Oxford fraternal group from being contaminated by any metaphor involving Communism. Similarly, in the edition of

1928, one can read that the sons and daughters of a Welsh family “rarely mate with human kind except their own blood relations”, whereas in the edition of 1962 Waugh wrote: “their sons and daughters mate freely with the sheep but not with human kind except their own blood relations” (as cited in Doyle, 1967).

In addition to *Decline and Fall*, Waugh’s diaries also suffered a series of changes, since they might have proven “intolerably offensive or distressing to living persons or surviving relations” (Heath, 1982, p. 289). Thus, the British publishers Weidenfeld and Nicolson omitted the diary entry in which Waugh informs that a friend consumed drugs. The 1945-56 entry was also absent for its offence to an eminent man of justice whose “only real pleasure in life is to be birched by a common prostitute. Perhaps his arse was at that moment smarting from the joys of the preceding evening” (as cited in Heath, 1982, p. 289). When the context was less revealing, the publishers replaced names with dashes instead of cutting an offensive passage (Heath, 1982, p. 289).

In the view that Waugh’s English academic reception was frequently negative and that his writings were censured in his own country, one wonders if his work encountered similar difficulties in countries that for some years were governed by totalitarian regimes with strict censorship systems like Spain and Romania. A brief overview of bibliographic databases reveals that some of Waugh’s novels were translated and published in Barcelona and Bucharest from the 1940s. At that time, Spain and Romania were ruled by totalitarian regimes, each of them with different political persuasions. In Spain, Francisco Franco implemented a National-Catholic ideology with a strict censorship apparatus aimed at suppressing or modifying any publication that was considered

subversive or included “improper” comments about the principles of the regime, Marxism, the Church and morality (Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla, 2002, p. 90). Unlike Spain, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej’s regime (1948-1965) as well as Nicolae Ceaușescu’s (1965-1989) in Romania imposed the Marxist-Leninist ideology, which was promoted by the General Direction of Press and Print (GDPP) founded in 1949 after the model of the Soviet institution *Glavlit*, which was active from 1922 (Corobca, 2014 a, p. 13). As consequence, the entrance of foreign literature was strictly controlled, and Romanian people only had access to texts that comprised the Soviet culture (Chiciuc, 2006). Thus, considering the political landscape in Spain and Romania, research into the reception of Evelyn Waugh’s work in these two countries might be of great interest to literary critics and scholars.

Taking into account that some of Waugh’s works were considered offensive in the United Kingdom and given the political context in Spain during Franco’s dictatorship and the communist regime in Romania, one could easily suppose that Waugh’s reception in Spain and Romania was conditioned by the censorship systems of each country. The fact that he was a Catholic writer since 1930 may also suggest that his writings were much better received in Spain than in Romania, where he might have been considered a bourgeois author with a limited place in Soviet ideology. Research on the reception of Waugh’s work by censors, critics and publishers in Spain and Romania will be required to confirm or refute this hypothesis.

The main goals regarding the reception of Waugh's writings in Spain and Romania imply a literary, historical and sociological examination of the processes of publication, translation and critical reception of the texts:

- Which texts by Waugh have been available to Spanish and Romanian readers?
- How much interest have publishers and booksellers shown in Waugh?
- Who are the translators? Are they well-known figures in the intellectual circles of each country?
- What was the response from the critics (early readers, reviewers and scholars)?
- To what extent did Waugh's texts suffer from the censors' strictures?
- Were his books considered offensive to the regimes?
- Was censorship one of the key factors which hindered the reading, translation or publication of Waugh's writing in Spain and Romania?

Research into the reception of English literature in Spain has been a matter of great interest among academics. Some of the first studies on the topic were done by foreign scholars such as Lisa E. Davis, who wrote "Oscar Wilde in Spain", published in *Comparative Literature* in 1973. One of the first Spanish academics who worked in the field of reception studies was Julio César Santoyo, from the University of León. In 1988, Santoyo published the article "Chaucer en España: ediciones, traducciones y estudios críticos" in the journal *Miscelánea: A Journal of English and American Studies*. Alberto Lázaro, from the University of Alcalá,

published a series of essays on the reception of Virginia Woolf, James Joyce and H.G. Wells in Spain. He also directed a three years project on reception entitled: *La recepción de la narrativa inglesa en la España del Siglo XX: ediciones, crítica y censura*. In the first decade of this century, Spanish academics wrote numerous essays and chapters on the reception of British authors in Europe, and they managed to publish several books on the topic. More recently, the scholar Pilar Somacarrera led a research on translation and reception of English Canadian literature in Spain. In 2013, she edited a collection of essays entitled *Made in Canada, Read in Spain: Essays on the Translation and Circulation of English-Canadian Literature*. Similarly, a series of doctoral dissertations were written on reception, such as *Traducción inglés-español y censura de textos narrativos en la España de Franco (1962-1969)* by Marta Rioja Barrocal presented in 2008 at León University. In the present decade, in 2012, Monica Olivares Leyva defended at the University of Alcalá her doctoral thesis entitled *La recepción de Graham Greene en España*.

In Romania, the investigation on reception of English literature initiated in the 1980s. Thus, some of the earliest researches were done by academics such as Grigore Vereș, who in 1982 wrote the monograph *Opera lui Charles Dickens în România*. In 1981, the scholar Ioana Sasu-Bolba defended her doctoral dissertation on English poetry entitled *Receptarea poeziei britanice în România interbelică*, which was submitted at the University Babeș-Bolyai of Cluj-Napoca. English poetry was of great interest to Romanian academics who published articles about Byron and Yeats, such as “The Byron Phenomenon in Romanian Culture” (2004) by Mihaela Anghelescu Irimia and “The Reception of W. B. Yeats

in Romania” (2006) by Rodica Albu. In the last ten years, Romanian scholars have also produced chapters on the reception of English novelists in Romania, for instance “From the Infantile to the Subversive: Swift’s Romanian Adventures” (2005) by Mihaela Mudure and “Dickens in Romania” (2013) by Monica Botez.

The reception of Evelyn Waugh’s writing in Spain commenced with the publication of the Spanish version of *A Handful of Dust* and *Black Mischief* in 1943 and 1950 respectively. Spanish magazines and journals responded to Waugh’s presence in Spain through the publication of reviews and articles, for instance, “La novela católica de la Inglaterra actual: Evelyn Waugh” by N. Aguirre de Cárcer in 1949 in the magazine *Arbor*. Later, in 1950 C. Fernández Cuenca signed a review of the novel *Helena* (1950) in the journal *Triunfo*. In 1958, J. M. Souvirón wrote the article “Un enfermo original” in the weekly magazine *Blanco y Negro*¹. The article provides a positive critique of *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), describing it as an excellent novel about British society. It also makes reference to *The Loved One* (1948) as a fierce satire of the funeral traditions in the United States.

In the academic sphere, philosophical and cultural magazines like *Eidos* and *Nuestro Tiempo* published in 1961 and 1966 the articles “E. Waugh un humorista serio” by C. Osete and “Waugh, el caballero de antaño” by B. Menczer. Over the

¹ The review on the novel *Helena* and the article “Un enfermo original” published in *Triunfo* and *Blanco y Negro* respectively, were also mentioned in the work *British and Irish Writers in the Spanish Periodical Press* by Antonio Raúl de Toro Santos and David Clark (Netbiblo, 2007).

last two decades, the Spanish scholar Carlos Villar Flor has been studying Evelyn Waugh's novels in depth. After writing his doctoral dissertation *La caracterización como producto y como proceso en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (1995), Villar Flor dedicated numerous research studies to Waugh, such as the monograph *Personaje y caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (1997) and the article "Evelyn Waugh: La vocación de un escritor" (2013 a). Regarding the reception of Waugh's writings in Spain, Villar Flor presented part of the translations of Waugh's works into Spanish in the article "Spanish Translations of Works by Evelyn Waugh: 1943-2011" (2011) published in *Evelyn Waugh Newsletter and Studies*, vol. 42. The scholar also translated into Spanish several fiction works such as *Hombres en armas* (2003), *Oficiales y caballeros* (2010), *Rendición incondicional* (2001), *¡Izad más banderas!* (2012) and the novella *Neutralia: La Europa moderna de Scott-King* (2009). Other Spanish academics wrote numerous monographs, chapters and articles analysing Waugh's work, nonetheless they were not concerned with Waugh's reception in Spain.

In Romania, the reading public had access to a translation of *A Handful of Dust* by Nelly Mătăsarú entitled *Un pumn de țărână* published by Forum in 1945. *Decline and Fall* was also translated in 1968 into *Declin și prăbușire* by Petre Solomon being followed by *A Handful of Dust* into *Un pumn de țărână* and *The Loved One* into *Preaiubita* in 1969 by Dan Hurmuzescu. One of the main research works written during the communist period was the essay "Evelyn Waugh: The Universe of his Novels" (1988) by Monica Botez. The same author translated in 1989 the short story *Mr Lovesday's Little Outing* (1936). After Ceaușescu's death in 1989, more academics were interested in Waugh. Therefore, Mircea Platon in

the article “Evelyn Waugh sau literatorul dintre lumi” (2003) discussed the presence of Waugh’s Catholicism in his novels. Professor Virgil Nemoianu also dedicated numerous essays and articles to the English author, such as “Cum m-am “împrietenit” cu Evelyn Waugh” (2011). The scholar Rodica Grigore produced various articles about Waugh analysing his novels, mainly *A Handful of Dust*. Some of these articles are: “Evelyn Waugh. Trecutul între nostalgie și luciditate” (2010) and “Evelyn Waugh. Privind spre trecut cu nostalgie” (2009). Romanian scholars have published a series of reviews and articles discussing Waugh’s work, nevertheless they have not issued any studies on the reception of Evelyn Waugh in Romania.

The collection of data and the analytical methods of this research are largely informed by current debates on reception theories which underline the social function of literature. Of the many critical positions within reception aesthetics, the model proposed by the German critic Hans Robert Jauss in the work *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception* (1982) will guide much of this study on Waugh. The reception theory proposed by Jauss is a response to the Marxist and Formalist schools, since these schools deprived literature of “the dimension of its reception and influence” (Jauss, 1982, p. 18). In both literary theories, the reader plays a limited role. As Jauss (1982) suggests, Marxist aesthetics treats the reader the same as the author, enquiring about his social position and endeavouring to recognize him in the structure of a specific society (p. 18). On the other hand, the Formalist school perceives the reader as a subject who follows the text in order to distinguish its literary procedure. It presupposes that the reader has the theoretical training of a philologist who can distinguish and analyse artistic

devises. None of these schools recognizes the authentic role of the reader as the genuine addressee “for whom literary work is primarily destined” (Jauss, 1982, p. 19).

Considering the position of Marxist and Formalist schools regarding the role of the reader, Jauss attempts to fill the gap of these two approaches focusing on the public as an active factor being itself “an energy formative of history” (Jauss, 1982, p. 19). Jauss’s prime interest is not on the response of a single reader at a given time, but on the changing responses, interpretative and evaluative, of the general public or the informed reader over a span of time. The changing interpretative and evaluative responses are enclosed in the concept “horizon of expectation” proposed by Jauss. The reader’s horizon of expectation implies the reader’s own linguistic and aesthetic expectations conditioned by certain historical, cultural and ideological prejudices. The reader’s expectations can be confirmed, refuted or reformulated, meaning that if expectations are confirmed, then the piece of literature is considered “culinary” or entertainment art, while if expectations are refuted then the literary work is a masterpiece which prompts the reformulation of the horizon of expectations (Jauss, 1982, p. 25).

The horizons of readers change in the course of time, and since later regular readers and literary critics have access not only to the literary text, but also to the published responses of former readers and scholars, then an evolving historical tradition develops of critical interpretations and evaluations of a given literary work. This historical tradition of reception attends social, artistic and political determinants, which are essential for a study of Waugh’s works in Spain and Romania. Professor Srouji-Shajrawi (2013), for instance, puts forward an

applicable method of Jauss's theory concerned with "extra and intra-literary indicators" (p. 8). Some of the extra-literary indicators focus on the socio-economic aspects of production such as the number of published editions, translations, film productions, literary prizes and academic reception. On the other hand, intra-literary indicators imply a diachronic reading by studying the content of the literary work. Other more recent studies related to the so-called sociology of reception² – studies that are concerned with canon formation, critical and professional reception, the function of journals, translation, paratextual elements – will also be taken into account.

The material resources for the development of the present research are provided mainly by the censorship files held at the Spanish and Romanian General Administration Archives, which inform, on the one hand, about the content of the work that might have been altered by censors and the type of novels that were not authorised in Spain and Romania for not fulfilling the basic requirements of the totalitarian regimes. On the other hand, the censorship files of the National Archives also provide data about publishing houses, the number of copies that are to be published, the price of each copy and whether the text is a translation or an import of the original version. Primary and secondary sources on Waugh are allocated at the Resource Centre for Learning and Research (Centro de Recursos para el Aprendizaje y la Investigación, CRAI) of the University of Alcalá and also at the National Libraries of Spain and Romania.

² For further information on sociology of reception see Zyngier, Z., Bortolussi, M., Kesnokova, A., Auracher, J., (2008). *Directions in Empirical Literary Studies*.

Spanish and Romanian electronic databases and catalogues like REBIUN (Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias), Dialnet database and ROLINeST (Romanian Library Network Science & Technology) grant access to further secondary sources such as monographs, articles, reviews, book chapters, essays and translations rendered by numerous Spanish, Romanian and English academics who studied Waugh's work. All these sources contribute to the collection of data necessary for an effective analysis of the reception of Waugh in Spain and Romania.

This doctoral dissertation is structured in six chapters. The first and second chapters are aimed at describing the political and literary background of Spain and Romania during the dictatorship of Franco (1936-1975), Gheorghiu-Dej and Ceaușescu (1948-1989), as in these periods, Waugh's novels had their first contact with both countries. These chapters also focus on the functioning of the censorship systems employed by both countries in order to control the entrance of unwanted literature. The third chapter comprises the critical reception of Waugh during the Spanish and Romanian totalitarian regimes. The critical reception includes, on the one hand, a panoramic view of the English reception of Waugh in order to determine to what extent this may affect the Spanish and Romanian response to Waugh's work, and, on the other hand, comprises a series of reviews, articles, monographs, chapters and books written by Spanish and Romanian journalists as well as scholars interested in Evelyn Waugh. The fourth and fifth chapters enclose a study of the Spanish and Romanian book industry along with an analysis of the censorship files, which decided the destiny of Waugh's novels in Spain and Romania. Finally, the last chapter analyses the

present critical reception of Waugh focusing on the scholars, critics and journalists who are still interested in studying Waugh's work today.

1 THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND IN SPAIN (1936-1975)

The study of Evelyn Waugh's reception in Spain and Romania requires a review of the political background in order to understand the censorship systems that operated in both countries during the Francoist and communist regimes. Thus, in Spain General Franco (1939-1975) shared with Hitler and Mussolini the loath toward Communism and freemasonry. The Caudillo simulated in Spain the political model of Hitler and Mussolini in order to submit the country to his dictatorial leadership under the status Generalísimo of the nation. One of Franco's measures for controlling the masses was the implementation of a censorship system regulated by two significant laws: The Law of Press of 1938, which was later replaced by the Law of Press and Print of 1966. These laws conditioned the publishing, translation and import of books. During Franco's regime, all domestic and foreign literature passed through the censorship department in search of authorization to reach the readership.

In Romania, prior to 1945 when the sovietisation period initiated, the country was led by King Michael and Marshal Ion Antonescu, head of the fascist Iron Guard Police. The entrance of the Soviet troops in Romania involved the persecution of fascists and the destruction of books published before 1944 with pro-fascist and anti-communist content. The sovietisation of the country comprised the creation of a single communist party, the Communist Worker Party, the foundation of the communist police, Securitatea, and the implementation of the censorship institution called General Direction of Press and

Print (GDPP). Under the surveillance of this institution, the Secret and Documentary Funds were created. The role of these funds was to guard part of the purged books. The communist censorship system functioned under two main communist leaders Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1948-1965) and Nicolae Ceaușescu (1965-1989) who had governed the country following the Soviet model. In Romania, the censorship institution was officially closed in 1977 and the purged books from the Secret and Documentary Funds did not return to the public until 1990, a year after the fall of Communism.

1.1 The Censorship System Prior to Franco's Regime

The end of the Spanish civil war brought the implementation of a totalitarian regime, which, as in all totalitarian states, applied a censorship system in order to ensure the proper assimilation of the doctrine and protect the regime from opposing ideas considered dangerous from political, moral and religious points of view. The practise of censorship by Franco's government was not an innovative procedure, since in Spain censorship was a long-lasting practice. For instance, during the reign of Alfonso XII (1874-1885) the first legislative norm aimed at regulating censorship was the decree of Press promulgated on 29 January 1875 signed by Cánovas del Castillo as president of the Ministry of Regency and Romero Robledo as Minister of Governance (Soria, 1982, p. 12). The decree of 1875 was replaced by the Law of Press of 7 January 1879, which in article 16 presented its repressive facet by enumerating the printing crimes against the monarchy, religion and government. Thus, a printing crime was produced when the publication was attacking and ridiculing³ :

The dogmas of the State's religion, its ministers or Christian morals;
mocking any other religion practiced in Spain; insulting and ridiculing the

³ All the translations from Spanish to English are own translations, unless otherwise indicated. Article 16 of the Law of Press of 1879 as presented by Carlos Soria: "Son delito de imprenta —a tenor de lo establecido en el artículo 16 de la Ley— atacar o ridiculizar los Dogmas de la Religión del Estado, el culto, sus ministros o la Moral cristiana; hacer escarnio de cualquier otra religión que tenga prosélitos en España; injuriar, ridiculizar los Cuerpos colegisladores, poner en duda la legitimidad de unas elecciones generales [...] Ofender a los monarcas o Jefes de Estados amigos o sus respectivos diplomático".

legislative bodies as well as questioning the legitimacy of general elections
[...] Offending the monarchs or Chiefs of States or their diplomats. (Soria,
1982, p. 16)

The decree of 1875 as well as the Law of Press of 1879 were abrogated by the Ley de policía de imprenta (Law of Police of Print) of 26 July 1883. Historians considered that the law of 1883 initiated the press's golden age as it revoked the print punishment imposed by the law of 1879. María López de Ramón (2014) clarified that the law of 1883 guaranteed the freedom of the press through two main constituents: the principle of responsibility and the denial of any preventive system. The first constituent guaranteed the interests of society denying the fact that the right of writing was not legislative, and the writer should exercise a sort of a "priesthood" that would ensure his invulnerability regarding the freedom of press. The second constituent suggested that the freedom of the press was based on the absolute lack of all preventive measures aimed at preventing, suspending or considerably delaying the right of writing (p. 59).

In the thirties, during the republic period, the censorship was imposed through the Ley de defensa de la república (Law for the Defence of the Republic) issued on 21 October 1931. The main purpose of this law was to establish the actions considered crimes by the Republic. Thus, the first article enumerated "the acts of the aggression to the republic submitted to the present law" (as cited in Díaz-Plaja, n. d.). According to this law, an act of aggression to the republic was the diffusion of news that could disturb the peace and the public order as well as any action or expression that would denigrate the institutions and organisms of

the state (as cited in Díaz-Plaja, n. d.). The Law for the Defence of the Republic was annulled on 29 august 1933. The abrogation of this law did not refrain the censorship practice, as the initiation of the Asturian revolution in 1934 led to the persecution of books through a series of repressive actions. Once the Asturian subversion was crushed, the government implemented suppressive organisms such as the Comisión de Depuración de Bibliotecas (Commission of Libraries Purging). The purpose of this commission was to eliminate the books considered pornographic, revolutionary and damaging for the public morality (Boza Puerta & Sánchez Herrador, 2007, p. 81).

1.2 The Law of Press of 1938 and the Censors' Activity (1938-1966)

The Law of Press of 1938 intended to control, on the one hand, the press publications, and, on the other hand, the non-periodical publications such as books and other materials printed in Spain. Thus, on 29 April 1938, the Minister of Interior Ramón Serrano Suñer signed at Burgos an order, which focused on the production of books, pamphlets and other printed materials (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 30 April, 1938, p. 7035). In the introduction section of this Law of Press, Serrano Suñer clarified that non-periodical materials ought to be submitted to censorship. He also stated that restrictive measures would be applied to the foreign publications on account of economic reasons and paper shortage (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 1938, p. 7035).

The most relevant aspect of this law was the employment of prior censorship. Thus, the publishing houses were forced to submit to the censorship office two copies of the book they intended to put into circulation, as article four stated⁴:

Without the prior permission of the Ministry, it is prohibited the circulation in national territory of books, pamphlets and other printed material

⁴ "Art. 4.º Queda prohibida la venta y circulación, en territorio nacional, de libros, folletos y demás impresos, producidos en el Extranjero, cualquiera que sea el idioma en que estén escritos, sin la previa autorización de este Ministerio. Los editores, libreros o concesionarios que pretendan poner en venta o circulación tales obras, deberán remitir dos ejemplares a la previa censura. Esta disposición alcanza a las que actualmente se venden o circulan en territorio nacional después del diecisiete de julio de mil novecientos treinta y seis. Se concede un plazo de treinta días, a partir de la publicación de esta Orden, para el cumplimiento de dicha obligación".

produced abroad, regardless the language they are written. Publishers, booksellers or merchants who wish to sell such works must submit two copies to prior censorship. This norm affects those works that are currently sold or put into circulation in the national territory after 17 July 1936. It is granted a thirty days deadline from the publication of this Order, for the fulfilment of this obligation. (*Boletín Oficial de Estado*, 1938, p. 7036)

The infringement of the law involved the payment of a fine or the seizure of all the copies published.

The ideological context in which the Law of Press of 1938 functioned has caused confusion among historians. On the one hand, José Andrés-Gallego (1997) claimed in the work entitled *¿Fascismo o estado católico? Ideología religión y censura en la España de Franco (1937-1941)* that the Francoist regime was not fascist, but rather an authoritarian national-monarchic movement (p. 133). On the other hand, Manuel L. Abellán (1980) sustained that the Francoist State was a fascist one, which employed censorship in order to refrain the diffusion of symbolic values considered contrary to those that belong to the governing political forces (p. 108). Considering that the single party founded by Generalísimo in 1937 was a unification of different ideologies - military, fascist and monarchist - under the name *Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las Juntas de Ofensiva Nacional Sindicalista (FET y de las JONS)*, it could be stated that the Francoist regime had not a single ideology, but it was rather governed by a series of dogmas that exerted their forces in different sectors of the Francoist government.

Culture, during the first years of the regime, was controlled by the Spanish fascist party, the Falange in cooperation with the Catholic Church. The Falangist objectives corresponded to the main traits of the fascism, which consisted in an idealist and voluntarist philosophy and the founding of an authoritarian nationalist state through a multiclass national economic structure called national-syndicalist or national-socialist (Payne, 1995, p. 15). Fascists, as Payne (1995) explained, had an imperial objective of expansion, they rejected liberalism, Communism, conservatism; they intended to mobilize masses and practice a personal authoritarian leadership (pp. 15-16).

The censors, or “the readers”, as they were usually called, protected the Francoist regime by employing two types of criteria: fixed and variable (Abellán, 1980, p. 88). The fixed criteria included references to the untouchable Francoist institutional system, its ideological principles as well as its inspirational sources and the laws which intended to construct a society in accordance to such ideology. The variable criteria were related to the specific manner of considering the public morality, representing the literal transcription of the main Catholic principles (p. 88). Both types of criteria were reduced to four basic categories exposed by Abellán:

1. *Sexual morality*: prohibition of freedom of expression, which in one way or another implied an insult to decency and good manners, and refraining from referring to abortion, homosexuality and divorce;

2. *Political opinions* regarding the Francoist government, ideology, sources of inspirations, and laws issued to implement such ideology;
3. *The use of language* considered improper, provocative and incorrect use of good manners, which guide the conduct of people who define themselves decent;
4. The religion as institution and hierarchy that guards all divine and human values inspiring the archetypical human behaviour. (pp. 88-89)⁵

The four fixed and variable categories were developed into seven references that censors considered when censoring, such as: implicit and explicit criteria of the Roman Index; criticism of the regime's practice and ideology; public morality; clash with the assumptions of nationalist historiography; criticism of civil order; defence of Marxist and non-authoritarian ideologies; prohibition of any work that could be hostile with the regime (Abellán, 1978, p. 30).

⁵ "1. *Moral sexual*: entendida como prohibición de la libertad de expresión que implicara, de alguna manera, un atentado al pudor y a las buenas costumbres en todo lo relacionado con el sexto mandamiento y, en estrecha unión con dicha moral, abstención de referencias al aborto, homosexualidad y divorcio. 2. *Opiniones políticas* en el sentido en el que se ha apuntado más arriba (intocabilidad y respeto al sistema institucional implantado por el franquismo, sus principios ideológicos o sus presuntas fuentes de inspiración y las leyes que tendían a configurar una sociedad acorde con los mismos. 3. *Uso del lenguaje* considerado indecoroso, provocativo e impropio de los buenos modales por los que se ha de regir la conducta de las personas que se autodefinen como decentes. 4. Por último, la religión como institución y jerarquía, depositaria de todos los valores divinos y humanos e inspiradora de la conducta humana arquetípica".

The publishing houses could put into circulation only those books that accomplished the conditions imposed by the regime and received a positive assessment from the censors. Thus, during the first years of the Francoist dictatorship, the publishing houses had to fill up a form which included the following data:

- The address of the publishing house;
- The presentation of two copies of the book to prior censorship;
- The name of the book's author;
- The title;
- The type of the printed material, in this case a book;
- The character of the book, which could be literary, documentary, artistic and infantile;
- Political aspects;
- Number of pages; number of copies and type of paper. (File 1641/1943)

All this information was attached to the censors' report, which included some sections employed for the evaluation of the works they were reading such as: "literary and artistic value, documentary value, political reference, deletion in case of authorization and other observations" (File 1641/1943)⁶. These sections changed around 1944 into three questions:

⁶ The censorship file 1641/43, from the box 21/07120, revealed the outline that the censors employed in the first years of the Francoist regime in order to assess a piece of

1. Attacked the dogma and the morality?
2. Attacked the institutions of the regime?
3. Does the book have literary and documentary value? (File 5554/44)⁷

The censor determined whether a book should be authorised or rejected in accordance to an “authorization scheme”. Thus, in the period (1938 -1966) the authorization could be “pura y simple” (pure and simple) when the censor approved the book or “condicionada” (conditioned) when the censor deleted part of the book or made some modifications. The rejection of the book could involve or not a denouncement as well as the author’s inclusion in the “black list” (Abellán, 1980, p. 138).

Publishing, particularly foreign literature, in the first period of the Francoist regime (1928-1966) represented a difficult task for the editors. Therefore, the editor Gustavo Gili-Roig at the National Meeting of Editors and Librarians organized by the National Institute of the Spanish Book (I.N.L.E.) complained about the bureaucratic procedures that editors had to face in order to obtain authorization for publishing foreign literary works. Thus, Gili-Roig (1944) presented the editors’ struggle to publish a translated book:

literature. The original version of this outline is the following: “valor literario o artístico, valor documental, matiz político, tachaduras”.

⁷ The censorship file 5554/44, from the box 21/07495, encloses the three questions that censors had to answer in order to issue their report: “¿Ataca al dogma o a la moral? ¿A las instituciones del régimen? ¿Tiene valor literario o documental?”.

- Presentation to the censorship department of the original version or the translated one in case of foreign works;
- Presentation of five copies required in order to obtain the circulation permit;
- Translation approval from the National Institute of the Spanish Book (I.N.L.E.);
- Management of the export license for each shipment;
- Filling in the forms required by the Post Office for each shipment.

(p. 111)⁸

With the promulgation by the Vice-secretary of the Popular Education Order on 7 April 1944, which stated that the prior censorship should be suppressed on Latin texts employed by the Catholic Church, liturgical texts, and Spanish literature produced before 1800; Gili-Roig hoped that censorship would not interfere any more in the literary and scientific character of works (p. 118). Concerning the foreign literature, Gili-Roig mentioned that censorship should have been more permissive, as such literature was destined to a reduced number of readers. Gili-Roig suggested that booksellers, who practiced the wholesale import, should

⁸ “1. Presentación a la censura del original de la obra o de su traducción si se trata de una obra extranjera. 2. Presentación de cinco ejemplares exigidos para obtener el permiso de circulación. 3. Visado de la traducción, tratándose de una obra extranjera, por el I.N.L.E. 4. Gestión de la licencia de exportación para cada envío. 5. Cumplimentación de los impresos exigidos en la Administración de Correos para cada envío”.

assume the responsibility of not introducing on the market pornographic, sectarian and subversive books (p. 120).

1.3 The Law of Press and Print of 1966

On 10 July 1962 the Minister of Information and Tourism Arias-Salgado, was replaced by Manuel Fraga Iribarne who on 18 March 1966 regulated the censorship through the Law of Press and Print. This law, unlike the Law of Press of 1938, was signed in time of peace and aimed at conferring the freedom of press, as Iribarne stated when he presented the law project:

We are passing each other the torches of this movement. For this purpose, the political and architectonic caution must have a fundamental role, but we should also have the courage of saying the truth: this freedom of press will be real and efficient. (As cited in Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla, 2002, p. 29)⁹

The law of 1966 did not confer freedom to the press and to the publishing houses as Iribarne promised. The second article established the limitations of the freedom of press as follows:

There are considerable limitations: the respect of truth and morality; the respect of the Law of Principles of the National Movement and other Fundamental Laws; the requests of the national defence, of the State's

⁹ "Nos pasamos las antorchas de este movimiento. Con este propósito la precaución política y arquitectónica tiene que tener un rol fundamental, pero tenemos que tener el coraje de decir la verdad: la libertad de prensa va a ser real y eficiente".

security and the preservation of the domestic public order and the exterior peace; the respect of institutions and individuals in the criticism of the political and administrative action; the independence of courts and the safety of intimacy as well as the personal and familiar honour. (*Buletín Oficial del Estado*, 1966, p. 3310)¹⁰

Thus, since 1966 censorship continued to be employed, even though article three of the present law annulled the prior censorship by stating that “the administration cannot apply the prior censorship and demand mandatory consultation, except in case of emergency and war which are expressly delivered by laws” (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 1966, p. 3310)¹¹. Even though prior censorship was annulled, article four of the law admitted the voluntary consultation aimed at replacing the prior censorship. The main difference between these two consisted in the fact that the publishing houses were not forced to present their works to the censorship office, as they had the freedom to decide about submitting or not their material to voluntary consultation.

The presentation of the publishing material to voluntary consultation enclosed the risk of seizure that some of the publishing houses decided to take and others

¹⁰ “(...) Son limitaciones: el respeto a la verdad y a la moral; el acatamiento a la Ley de Principios del Movimiento Nacional y demás Leyes Fundamentales; las exigencias de la defensa Nacional, de la seguridad del Estado y del mantenimiento del orden público interior y la paz exterior; el debido respeto a la Instituciones y a las personas en la crítica de la acción política y administrativa; la independencia de los Tribunales, y la salvaguardia de la intimidad y del honor personal y familiar”.

¹¹ “La Administración no podrá aplicar la censura previa ni exigir la consulta obligatoria, salvo en los estados de excepción y de guerra expresamente previstos en las leyes”.

preferred to avoid. Therefore, Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla (2002) explained that the simple fact of presenting a literary work to voluntary consultation implied the censor's suspicions and mistrust (p. 57). Thus, some publishing houses, like Fundamentos and Anagrama considered this criterion and refused to submit their books to consultation (Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla, 2002, p. 57). However, other publishing houses, such as ZYX had to turn to voluntary consultation as its books had been constantly detained, and its economy was falling (Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla, 2002, p. 57). In general terms, publishers preferred to practice the voluntary consultation, since they risked being punished through seizure in case the authorities discovered any material considered dangerous for the regime, as article sixty-four mentioned:

When the administration becomes aware of a fact which might be an offense committed through the press or print and without prejudice to the obligation of the complaint immediately to the competent authorities, the public prosecutor, may order the seizure available to the judicial authority of the criminal publication. (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 1966, p. 3314)¹²

Seizure was frequently practiced by the censors, as the Ministry of Information and Tourism (MIT) had not a judicial cabinet that could present complaints to the

¹² "Cuando la Administración tuviere conocimiento de un hecho que pudiera ser constitutivo de delito cometido por medio de la Prensa o Imprenta y sin perjuicio de la obligación de la denuncia en el acto a las autoridades competentes, dando cuenta simultáneamente al Ministerio Fiscal, podrá ordenar el secuestro a disposición de la autoridad judicial, del impreso o publicación delictivos."

public prosecutor. Accordingly, the censor was responsible for judging the illicit material and obliged to denounce it to the competent authority (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 1966, p. 3314).

Since 1945 approximately, the censors' reports on books had included questions such as:

- Attacked the dogma?
 - The morality?
 - The Church and its ministers?
 - The regime and its institutions?
 - The people that had collaborated and still collaborate with the regime?
 - Do the censured paragraphs qualify the whole content of the work?
- (Abellán, 1980, p. 19)

This questionnaire was maintained until 1977 when the law of 1966 was revoked. Not only the report changed, but also the “authorization scheme”, which took a more elaborated form. Therefore, the authorization of a book was still “pure and simple” or “conditioned”. Conditioned authorization referred to the fact that the book could have suffered suppressions or modifications.

Thus, in the second Francoist stage (1966-1975) the publishing activity also encountered difficulties, such as the persecution through seizure and the implementation of all sorts of penalties that led even to closure. The publishing houses were forced by the article 51 of the Law of Press and Print to register with

the Registry of Publishing Houses of the Minister of Information and Tourism (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*, 1966, p. 3313). Registration with this registry was compulsory for all the publishing houses, since without the registration number they could not develop their activity.

Even though the Law of Press of 1966 annulled the Law of Press of 22 April 1938, the Spanish culture had not encountered freedom through this second law, as it only represented the institutionalisation of the cultural repression as well as the justification of the ideological control of culture and information (Cisquella, Erviti & Sorolla, 2002, p. 62). Even after Franco's death in 1975, the Law of Press of 1966 continued valid until 1 April 1977 when king Juan Carlos promulgated the Royal Decree-Law, which revoked the limitations of the freedom of press as well as the seizure comprised in the second article of the Law of Press and Print of 1966, as the second paragraph of the article sixty-four¹³ stated:

Second article: One. It is repealed the second article of the current Law of Press and Print and the article one hundred sixty-five of the Penal Code.
Two. There are suspended all the powers of seizure attributed to the Administration by the article sixty-nine of the Law of Press and Print. (Real Decreto Ley, 24/1977)

¹³ “Artículo segundo. Uno. Quedan derogados el artículo segundo de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta y el artículo ciento sesenta y cinco bis b) del Código Penal. Dos. Quedan suprimidas las facultades de suspensión atribuidas a la Administración por el artículo sesenta y nueve de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta”.

Nevertheless, the Royal Decree-Law of 1977 had not completely abolished the seizure, since the article three authorized its practice when the printed material contained data that could¹⁴: “a) be contrary to the unity of Spain; b) damage the Monarchy and the members of the Royal Family; c) injure the institutional prestige and respect before the public opinion and of Armed Forces (Real Decreto Ley, 1977).

¹⁴ B) La Administración sólo podrá decretar el secuestro administrativo de aquellos impresos gráficos o sonoros que contengan noticias, comentarios o informaciones: a) Que sean contrarios a la unidad de España. b) Que constituyan demérito o menoscabo de la Institución Monárquica o de las personas de la Familia Real. c) Que de cualquier forma atenten al prestigio institucional y al respeto, ante la opinión pública, de las Fuerzas Armadas”.

2 THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND IN ROMANIA (1944-1989)

2.1 The Sovietization of Romania

As the Spanish Civil War represented the core event that conferred the power to Francisco Franco, the Romanian coup of 23 August of 1944 conferred the power of the communist regime in Romania for forty-five years (1944-1989). The Axis defeat at Stalingrad in January 1943 provided the impulse for the coup of 1944. During the Soviet counteroffensive two Romanian armies, two German armies and one Italian army were annihilated. Romanian losses during the period 19 November 1942-17 January 1943 amounted to 155,010 dead, wounded and missing soldiers. This figure represented more than a quarter of all Romanian troops engaged on the Eastern Front (Deletant, 1999, p. 34).

Marshal Ion Antonescu, the Prime Minister and the main leader of the country (1940-1944), refused in 1944 to accept an armistice with the Soviets and preferred to continue the war at the side of Germany. Antonescu's attitude forced the young king Michael I (1940-1947) to design a plan for a coup d'état in order to dismiss Antonescu. On 23 August 1944, the king informed Antonescu that the military situation was critical, since the Soviet troops were already occupying part of the country, thus an armistice had to be immediately signed. Antonescu refused any agreement without Hitler's approval. The immediate action of the king was to execute the military plan of the coup and informed the Allies and the leaders of the political parties about the arrests. Finally, Michael I named General

Constantin Sănătescu Prime Minister. Sănătescu ordered Colonel Dămăceanu to take up positions at strategic points in Bucharest and cease hostilities against Soviet forces (Deletant, 1999, p. 48). However, on 24 August, the king left Bucharest for fear that Germans would occupy it (Deletant, 1999, p. 49). Two days after the Soviets occupied Bucharest, on 31 August, Antonescu alongside his ministers were handed by the communist leader Emil Bodnăraș to the Major-General Nikolai Burenin, the commander of the Soviet forces in Bucharest. Antonescu was executed on 1 July 1946. 23 August 1944 was considered the day of “social and national anti-fascist and anti-imperialist liberation” in which the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) conducted the Romanian nation to freedom (Fischer, 1989, p. 39).

On 12 September 1944, Romania signed an armistice with the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This armistice attested that Romania was now fighting on the Soviet side as through the coup of 23 August it had broken all relations with Germany and its satellites. According to this agreement, the Soviets could exploit Romania and impose their will in all the sectors of the society including the economic and the cultural one. Thus, for the fulfilment of its functions in Romania, the Allied Soviet High Command had the right to use “the Romanian territory of industrial and transportation enterprises, means of communication, power stations, enterprises and installations of public utility, stores of fuel, oil, food and other materials”, as article ten of the armistice stated (as cited in The Avalon Project, 2008). The Allied High Command could also control the culture:

The printing, importation and distribution in Romania of periodical and non-periodical literature, the presentation of theatrical performances and films, the work of wireless stations, post, telegraph and telephone shall be carried out in agreement with the Allied (Soviet) High Command. (As cited in The Avalon Project, 2008)

In order to completely implement the communist rule, article fifteen of the armistice demanded Romania to dissolve all pro-Hitler or fascist type organizations situated on the Romanian territory “whether political, military or para-military, as well as other organizations conducting propaganda hostile to the United Nations, in particular the Soviet Union, and will not in future permit the existence of organizations of that nature” (as cited in The Avalon Project, 2008). As a consequence of this stipulation, on 7 March 1945, the government of the Prime Minister Petru Groza (1945-1952) ordered the purging of all fascists who “were guilty of the disaster which had befallen the country” (as cited in Deletant, 1999, p. 73). The next step in the process of sovietisation consisted in the creation of a totalitarian state by undertaking a series of changes such as the promulgation of a single communist party, the dethronement of King Michael I, the elaboration of a new constitution, the creation of the Securitate police and the censorship institution.

Thus, during the congress of February 1948, the Social Democrat Party fused with the Communist Party, creating the Romanian Worker Party (RWP) (*Partidul Muncitoresc Român PMR*) (Burakowsky, 2011, p. 50). The general

secretary of the new elected party was named Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej. Once the single mass party was elected, the King Michael I had to be removed, and on 30 December 1947 Groza and Gheorghiu-Dej ordered the king to sign an abdication statement. At his refusal, Groza threatened the king with a civil war, and in order to avoid more bloodshed, Michael I resigned. On the same day, Romania was declared *Romanian People's Republic* governed by a totalitarian communist regime (Deletant, 1999, p. 81). After the king's abdication, a new constitution was promulgated in 1948 aimed at highlighting the institutionalization of Communism through the subsequent transformation of the Romanian society after the Stalinist model. The 1948 constitution was inspired on the soviet constitution, which intended to submit the economy to the state's control. Regarding the culture, article 23 of the constitution encouraged the development of science and art as well as the organization of research institutes, libraries, publishing houses, theatres, museums and conservatories (Monitorul Oficial, 1948, p. 2). Article 31 referred to a limited freedom of the press, which was guaranteed by the fact that the state would provide the printing means, paper and meeting places available for the staff (Monitorul Oficial, 1948, pp. 2-3).

The sovietisation of Romania continued with the implementation of the security police. In August 1948, the security police, Siguranța, became Direcția Generală a Securității Poporului (DGSP) or Securitatea. The role of Securitatea was the same as the role played by Siguranța which was functioning during the dictatorship of Antonescu, but with a slight difference: whereas the control in the period 1938-1944 was exerted over a single group in society, the Jews, and to a small number of political opponents, now the control was extended to the whole

of the Romanian society (Deletant, 1999, p. 114). The Securitatea was divided into ten departments called directorates covering the country, which supervised the criminal investigation, military intelligence, protection of ministries as well as administration and accounting. One of the main functions of the Securitatea was the control of censorship mainly centred on the correspondence with the capitalist countries. (Banu, Duică, Bărbulescu, Țăranu, 2006, pp. x -129).

2.2 The Main Leaders of Communist Romania: Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1948-1965) and Nicolae Ceaușescu (1965-1989)

The transformation of Romania into a totalitarian communist regime would have not been possible without the participation of the main leaders of the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Republic, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (1948-1965) and Nicolae Ceaușescu (1965-1989). These two figures are important not only because of their leadership over Romania during more than forty years, but mainly because under their governance culture was suppressed by the machinery of the censorship system. Without their approval as main leaders of the state, censorship would have not functioned.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej joined the Romanian Communist Party in 1930. On 2 February 1933, Gheorghiu-Dej participated in the strike of the railway workers of the Grivița yards in Bucharest, which spread to Cluj and Iași. On 14 February he was arrested and accused of the violent clashes between workers and the police that took place on 15 February. He was condemned to twelve years of hard work to the prisons of Jilava, Craiova, Ocnele Mari, Târgu Jiu and Doftana, as Deletant explained (2012, p. 18). Freed from prison before the coup of 23 August 1944, Gheorghiu-Dej confronted with the leadership division of the Romanian Communist Party. The party was divided into two groups, categorized as to whether they had stayed in the country or in Moscow during the Second World War, and if in the former group, whether they were in prison or they operated clandestinely (Deletant & Ionescu 2004, p. 4). Gheorghiu-Dej was the leader of the first group called “the native faction” composed of workers and

activists imprisoned during the strikes of 1930s. This group spent the war years in the Târgu-Jiu internment camp and comprised Gheorghe Apostol, Nicolae Ceaușescu, Miron Constantinescu, Alexandru Draghici, and Teohari Georgescu. The second group included some members of the pre-war communist leadership who had taken refuge in Moscow to escape arrests. This group was called 'the Moscow bureau' and it was led by Ana Pauker, a member of the Executive Committee of the Comintern and head of the External Bureau of the RCP (Deletant & Ionescu 2004, p. 4).

The public role of Gheorghiu-Dej was reinforced in November 1944 when the second government of Constantin Sănătescu (23 August 1944-2 December 1944) named him secretary of state at the Department of Communication (4 November 1944-28 February 1945) and secretary of the state at the Department of Communication and Public Works (6 March 1945-29 November 1946). Gheorghiu-Dej was chosen General Secretary of the Romanian Worker Party at the congress held on 21-23 February 1948. Once he achieved the power, Gheorghiu-Dej eliminated the competition represented by Ana Pauker and Vasile Luca. In 1952 Luca was sentenced to life imprisonment and Pauker was forced to live in retirement in Bucharest until her death in the 1960s (Fischer, 1989, p. 48). When Gheorghiu-Dej removed his rivals, he promoted Nicolae Ceaușescu to full membership in the Central Committee and also to the Party Orgburo¹⁵.

¹⁵ Party Orgburo was created in 1950 to manage the Party organizations, but it was dissolved in 1953 after the elimination of Pauker and Luca (Fischer, 1989, p. 48).

Stalin's death encouraged Gheorghiu-Dej to initiate a campaign of distancing Romania from the Soviet Union. This campaign commenced with the withdrawal of the Soviet troops on 24 May 1958 (Deletant & Ionescu, 2004, p. 14). In 1963 a series of Anti-Russian measures were also taken such as the closure of the Russian Institute in Bucharest, elimination of Russian as a compulsory school subject, and the replacement of the Russian names on streets and public buildings with Romanian names (Deletant & Ionescu, 2004, p. 19). Finally, in April 1964, the Romanian Worker Party held a plenary of the Central Committee that issued the "Declaration of Independence" (*Declarația cu privire la poziția Partidului Muncitoresc Român în problemele mișcării comuniste și muncitorești internaționale*), which demanded the right to practice its own political line, and disapproved of the existence of both a "parent-son party" and the existence of a superior party along with a subordinated one:

Every independent party has the right to elaborate a political line, concrete objectives, ways and methods of achieving them by applying the general truths of Marxism-Leninism and the conclusions that can be drawn from the careful study of the experience of other communist and worker parties. It does not exist, and it cannot exist a "parent" party and a "son" party, "superior" parties and "subordinated" parties, but it does exist the great family of the communist workers parties equal in rights. No party has and cannot have a privileged position; it cannot impose to other parties its own lines and opinions. (Declarația, 1964, p. 55)

Gheorghiu-Dej's measures to separate from the Soviet Union had not included major changes into the activity of censorship system, which followed the soviet model called the *Glavlit*. The Romanian censorship institution General Direction of Press and Print (GDPP) was created in 1949 in accordance with the structure of the soviet *Glavlit* aimed at implementing the communist ideology and controlling all types of publications, holding the right to publish only the authors accepted by the regime (Ionică n. d.). One of the main activities of the DGPP was the retirement from libraries of those books considered dangerous. Some of them were destroyed and others were kept away from the public in secret and documentary funds. In 1964, only the scientific and technical publications with an adequate ideological content were returned to the readers¹⁶ (Vasile, 2013, pp. 40-41).

By the time of his death in March 1965, Gheorghiu-Dej had made of Romania a socialist state and gained the autonomy of the country. The Romanian Worker Party was no longer the instrument of Moscow as it had been under Stalin's regime (Fischer, 1989, p. 63). Three days after Gheorghiu-Dej's death, on 22 March 1965, Nicolae Ceaușescu was elected General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party. Ceaușescu commenced his governance in a favourable moment, as the spirits in the country improved since the liberation from Moscow. Political prisoners were freed and those who were expatriated returned home (Burakowsky, 2011, p. 103). The liberalization measures taken in 1964 allowed the foreign radio stations to broadcast news regarding the good

¹⁶ DGPP as well as the secret and the documentary funds will be discussed in more detail further into this chapter.

impression Ceaușescu made abroad, encouraging a significant improvement of the domestic and international situation. The procedure of foreign travel and emigration was also simplified, which led to an increased cultural exchange with Western countries (Burakowsky, 2011, p. 103).

In 1965, a sort of a cultural liberation emerged as a consequence of the election of Ceaușescu as president. Thus, Karl Marx's book entitled *Însemnări despre români* (*Notes about Romanian people*), which discussed Romanian-Russian relationships and accused Russia for improperly annexing Bessarabia in 1812, was sold in 20,000 copies (Burakowsky, 2011, pp. 74-75). The publishing of previously repressed Romanian classics was allowed, for instance the works by poet Lucian Blaga. Despite Ceaușescu's measures of liberating the culture, the communist ideology was not removed, and the real "cultural revolution" of Ceaușescu initiated on 6 July 1971, when after a visit to China and North Korea, he presented to the Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party (RCP) the proposals or theses of improvement of political-ideological activity and the Marxist-Leninist education (Fischer, 1989, p. 180). The Romanian leader imported the indoctrination model employed during Mao's Cultural Revolution to consolidate his personal power and eliminate all those who dreamed of to a "socialism with a human face" generating a radical re-Stanilization (as cited in Scurtu, 2011). Fischer (1989) clearly exposed the basic proposals of Ceaușescu, which could be divided in three categories:

- (1) Centralized control of culture, education and the mass media, to be exercised by the party and its officials.

- (2) Expansion of agitation and propaganda among the masses, especially the “youth” including patriotic work and large-scale cultural festivals (both ostensibly voluntary) and a required system of periodic re-education.
- (3) Ceaușescu’s own synthesis of Marxism-Leninism and Romanian nationalism, which would provide content for the propaganda and cultural activities. (p. 180)

Ceaușescu’s political ideology was reinforced by a detailed Law of Press of 28 March 1974 comprising 8 chapters and 101 articles. The preface emphasized the social-political mission of the press in the implementation of the Romanian Communist Party policy and in the development and edification of Communism in the Romanian Socialist Republic (Fischer, 1989, p. 184). Article 69 prohibited the publishing of all materials that:

- a) Are contrary to the Constitution of the Romanian Socialist Republic;
- b) Attacks the socialist system and the principles of domestic and foreign policy of the Romanian Communist Party and the Romanian Socialist Republic;
- c) Insults the party leadership and the state;
- d) Communicate information and secret documents;
- e) Contain false or alarmist information and comments threatening the public peace or represents a danger to national security;
- f) Foments the disobedience of the laws and encourages the crime;

- g) Spreads fascist ideas, chauvinist propaganda, urging hatred or injure the national feelings. (As cited in Legex, 2009)

The communist control of press and print was initially implemented by the laws of the Soviets when they occupied Romania in 1944. The censorship apparatus was formally established in 1949 through the General Direction of Press and Print (Direcția Generală a Presei și Tipăriturilor DGPT), which operated until 1977.

2.3 The Censorship Institution: General Direction of Press and Print (GDPP)

Since 1938, censorship in Romania had been regulated by the decree-law regarding the *Introduction of the Siege State (Decret-lege privind introducerea stării de asediu)*. Article four of this law allowed the military authorities to “censure the press and any other printed material having the right to refrain the publishing of any newspaper or other publication, or the publishing of certain news and articles” (as cited in Scurtu, Stănescu-Stanciu, Scurtu, 2002). In accordance to this law, the institution that controlled censorship in 1945 was the Central Military Censorship aimed at supervising the Press Censorship Service, the Exterior Mail Censorship Service and Interior Mail Censorship Service. Therefore, Central Military Censorship was not a Soviet invention, as it functioned before the entrance of the Soviet troops in Romania (Corobca b, 2014 a, p. 9). On January 1946, the Allied Control Commission (CAC) was created with the objective of introducing the communist regime. This institution participated in the foundation of the main soviet-communist institutions: the party, the Securitate and the censorship system (Corobca, 2014 b, p. 12).

The historian Jean-François Soulet (1998) affirmed that all the countries proclaimed communists in the middle of the 1940s had to adopt the Soviet-Stalinism model and imitate the Soviet Union in the political-economic institutions as well as in the social and cultural organizations (p. 41). In the period 1944-1946, censorship was employed by the central institutions of the country such as: the Cultural Section of the Propaganda Minister, the Prefectures Censorship Services, the Police Sections subordinated to the Ministry of Interior, the Central

Service of the Military Censorship subordinated to the Ministry of the Armed Forces and the Ministers Council, all of them being controlled by the Service of the Soviet Censorship and the officers of the Allied Control Commission (Corobca, 2014 b, p. 18). The CAC oversaw the book purging and the employment of “prior censorship” in order to control the mail as well as the publishing of any material (Corobca, 2014 b, pp. 15-17). On 7 November 1947, the CAC stopped its activity.

On 20 May 1949, the Ministers Council issued the decree 214, which stipulated that the Direction of Press and Print of the former Minister of Art and Information would transform into “the General Direction of Press and Print” that would function alongside the Ministers Council¹⁷. The General Direction of Press and Print (GDPP) followed the model of the Soviet institution the *Glavlit* founded in 1922. The *Glavlit* according to Corobca (2014 b) comprised of two basic sections:

- 1) Literature: practiced the political and military censorship of all sorts of publications, established the list of prohibited Russian and foreign books that entered the country.
- 2) Administration-training section: controlled the publishing houses, the typographies, libraries; the instruction of provincial centres; supervised the activity of the staff working in publishing houses and typographies, being always in contact with GPU, the security organs. (p. 85)

¹⁷ See the fund of the Committee for Press and Print, file number 10/1949 held at the Romanian National Archives.

In 1949 the basic functions of GDPP were established by the decree 218 as follows:

General Direction of Press and Print has the following attributions:

- a) Writes the Official Bulletin of the Romanian Popular Republic.
- b) Authorizes the publishing of any printed material such as: newspapers, magazines, programmes, posters, etc., by taking measures regarding the accomplishment of the printing legal conditions.
- c) Authorizes the publishing of all books in the capital city and province.
- d) Authorizes the diffusion and selling of books, newspapers and other printings, as well as the import and export of newspapers, books and objects of art.
- e) Regulates the functioning conditions of libraries, book antiquarians, public libraries, newspapers deposit and books deposit.
- f) Writes and transmits to the press the official news of the Ministers Council and coordinates the activity of the press and ministries, departments and public institutions. (File 6/1951)

GDPP conducted its activity using seven departments like the direction of press and periodical publications as well as the direction of book authorization (Corobca, 2014 b, p. 89). In these departments censors revised all national and international books, newspapers and mail to avoid the infiltration of subversive material. It is not clear what exactly was considered subversive. As Corobca (2014 b, p. 60) mentioned, censors had not a delimited criteria or principles to

follow when developing their activity (p. 160). Some of the dangerous allusions discovered by the communist censors were enumerated in a report issued in January 1964 where censors informed about the activity developed from January to August of that year. Thus, the problems they encountered in the material revised in this period were the following:

- a) Problems regarding Romania: in this period, we noticed an inexact, erroneous, tendentious and hostile treatment of some problems related to the history of Romania and Romanian people.
- b) Problems regarding the relationships between the socialist countries: in the last months, we found materials that directly or indirectly unfairly interpreted the stands of our party in the collaboration of problems within the socialist countries.
- c) Problems related to international labour movement: a great number of notes and reports that we have read in this period referred to the materials issued by different party organs, and other publications mentioned the controversy of the international labour movement.
- d) Special problems detected in a certain period in the befriended countries: countless material published in literary publications debated the role of the intellectuals in the socialist society questioning the role of the party in the cultural-artistic activity. (File 11/1964, pp. 4-6)

This report informed on the fact that the main factors censored by the readers were related to political matters, more precisely with the communist party.

They protected the party by erasing any statement that could jeopardize it. The importance of the party was highlighted from the introductory part of the report. The censors claimed that the multiple tasks of great responsibility that they had to conduct could be accomplished only through the Marxist-Leninist learning and also through a profound permanent knowledge of the party's documents, its internal and external policy and the documents regarding Romania and the international working movement (File 11/1964, p. 2). The report also informed on the performance of each censor, criticising those who seemed to work slower.

In the early years of GDPP censors practiced two methods of text censoring. Part of the employees made a first revision of the material and granted printing authorization called "bun de tipar" (good for print). Another group of readers was responsible for the distribution of the material and they had to approve it through the stamp "bun de difuzat" (it can be distributed). Thus, in order to obtain positive authorization, all printed data had to first be stamped with "bun de tipar", and secondly with "bun de difuzat" (Corobca, 2014 b, p. 149).

GDPP was closed in 1977, yet two years before its closure in 1975, Nicolae Ceaușescu issued a decree on 30 May, which transformed the institution into the Committee for Press and Print (CPP), considered as the central organ of the party and the state, being directly subordinated to the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and to the Council of Ministers. Corobca (2014 b) explained that the CPP was organized in various directions and services which controlled the culture, such as the direction for the editorial production and the direction for the press and foreign books (p. 98). The dissolution of the GDPP in 1977 had not represented the end of the censorship; on the contrary, it became

even stronger. Corobca (2014 b) clarified that CPP was an elaborated control system that operated at different levels: the publishing houses, the Council of Culture and Socialist Education and the Central Committee. In addition, the printers could not accept any works without a special stamp and signature of the publishing house that sent the books for printing (p. 263).

It is important to mention that the fund of the CPP guarded by the Romanian National Archives was declassified at the end of 2004, although many of the censorship files had been destroyed (Stănescu, 2005). Nevertheless, the official data provided by the fund of the CPP allows the researcher to understand the complicated apparatus of the communist censorship, which controlled the culture from 1949 until the end of the communist regime.

2.4 Book Purging and the Secret Fund

Romania's ideological situation in the period of 1945-1989 was clearly pictured in the work *Fond Secret. Fond "S" Special* by Ionuț Costea, István Király, Doru Radosav (1995). In this period, Romania was characterized by the anti-fascist and anti-Hitlerian policy searching for a democracy that went hand in hand with the communist ideology, which in 1945 conducted to the process of sovietisation of the country (p. 66). In such a tense atmosphere, culture intended to restore the interwar values uncontaminated by fascism, totalitarianism and the Iron Guards, which went in opposition to the ideologist and communist direction aimed at implementing a culture that praised the "party" and the "class" (Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, p. 66). The second congress of the Union of Artists, Writers and Journalists held on 14 February 1947 had definitively installed the project of the "cultural revolution" with a communist and proletarian character "that since 1948 would transform in a *proletcultism* and *socialist realism*" (Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, pp. 66-67). In such an ideological context, the "secrecy phenomenon" was initiated, which consisted of refraining the readers' access to certain books and other printing (Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, pp. 66-67).

The decree-law number 364 of 2 May 1945 signed by the King Michael I, the Minister of Propaganda P. Constantinescu-Iași and the Interior Minister Teohari Georgescu established the legal bases which permitted the book purging and the implementation of a "secret fund". The decree-law clearly explained the activity conducted in order to purge the prohibited books published prior to 1944:

ART. II. - The Commission will draw up lists with all periodical and non-periodical publications published from January 1, 1917 until August 23, 1944, enclosing Iron Guard, fascist, Nazi, chauvinistic and racist ideas, as well as damaging passages of the respectable relations between Romania and the United Nations. The lists of these publications will be published in the Official Bulletin.

ART. III. - Printings and publishing houses across the country, are obliged within two months of publication of this law, to submit to the Commission the list of all non-periodic printed publications edited by them, from January 1, 1917 until August 23, 1944 stored in the deposit or offered for sale in any form.

ART. IV. - Publishers, printers, booksellers, trades of any kind, antiquarians, kiosks, lending libraries, public libraries and public institutions that hold in their deposit the publications mentioned in the art. II, must be immediately withdrawn from circulation and stored in special rooms. (*Buletin Oficial*, 1945, p. 1)

The first function of this decree-law was the elaboration book lists emitted, on the one hand, by a central direction represented by an inter-ministerial commission formed by the Armistice Commission, Interior Ministry, Ministry of Arts, Romanian Academy and the Romanian Writers Society. On the other hand, the lists were also provided by a local direction, which comprised the publishing houses, libraries, antiquarians, and public institutions that guarded a fund of books. The second function involved the retirement and delivery of prohibited

publications to the County's Prefectures and the Office Paper Warehouse in order to be destroyed. The third function referred to the deposit, and supervised consultation in the libraries that held a Legal Deposit. Finally, the last function was to punish all those who circumvented it (p. 68).

The consequences of the decree-law of 1945 materialized in the greatest book purging in Romanian history. The exact number of books destroyed is unknown, but it seemed that only in the timeframe 1944-1948, around 8,779 books had been burned (Corobca, 2014 b, p. 27). Corobca (2014 b) explained that many of these books were abolished for the lack of responsibility and fear of many regional counsellors. These counsellors were requested to destroy all the books with fascist content, but they proceeded "in burning the whole library". When the censors from Bucharest controlled the book purging in the regional areas concluded that there was nothing to control as "all the books published before 23 August 1944 were destroyed without following any criteria" (p. 25).

The purging wave that took place in 1945-1948 was followed by a calmer period 1949-1952. In 1949, the censorship institution GDPP studied the books selected for burning and issued some reports regarding the value of those worth being saved. Corobca (2014 b) mentioned that the censors might have taken conscience of the value of these books, but it seemed that they received instructions to save the books in order to sell them abroad, as many foreign institutions were interested in purchasing certain works (p. 33). Even though this was the real reason of saving some books, censors guarded many of them in the so called "documentary fund" located at the headquarters of GDPP or at the Library of the Romanian Academy, the oldest and the most valuable library in

Romania founded in 1867, which holds the status of National Library. Precisely these saved books represented the basis of “the Secret Fund” (Corobca, 2014 b, p. 79).

Appendix X presented by Costea, Király, Radosav (1995) in *Fond Secret. Fond “S” Special* contains a note regarding the instructions of book selections from libraries issued in the period 1950-55. According to these instructions books were classified in three libraries: forbidden, documentary and open library. Those books published before 1914 were included in the open library. Books with anti-Marxist, chauvinist, and anti-Semite content were guarded in the documentary library:

1) Forbidden library.

The following books will be purged:

- a) Fascist books, mainly those from the years 1937-1944.
- b) Chauvinist, anti-communist and anti-Marxist books with a militant and propaganda character.
- c) Detective books, except for the classics of this genre (example Doyle), pornographic books, Pitigrilli, Lawrence, Segur, etc. (adventure books).
- d) Translations from the Anglo-American literature from 1920-1945.
- e) Occultist and unscientific books.
- f) Manuals for schools and high schools from 1920-1948.
- g) The laws of the political, fascist and legionary parties.

2) Documentary Library. The following books will be documented:

- a) The classics of philosophical literature and sciences when they are commented by authors whose work is forbidden, example Kant commented by Rădulescu Motru or Petrovici.
 - b) Even science books, whose authors are war criminals or refugees, cannot be made available to the general public, as well as science books containing biased data.
 - c) History works (propaganda works are not included, as they will be purged) and geography works containing the Bessarabia problem.
 - d) Cosmopolitan works: Jules Romain.
 - e) Military material, regulations, treatises, etc. of 1916.
 - f) The laws and instructions that regulate them from 1920-1945.
 - g) Marxist, socialist and democratic books that no longer meet the current conditions, as for example the books of the socialist library.
- All the newspapers except for the current ones.

3) Open library. Available for consultation:

- a) Romanian and foreign classics.
- b) Science works.
- c) Classics of the economy of bourgeois politics, the classics of sociology and philosophy and even the classics of the decadent literature (decadent literature is normally kept in documentary or forbidden libraries).
- d) Financial magazines, statistics, Romanian Academy records.
- e) Classical religious works, religious treatises, works of history and religion, works with dangerous content are guarded in the

documentary library and propaganda works that debate social matters are passed to the forbidden library [...]. (As cited in Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, pp. 260-261)

The present document also informed on the access to these libraries. For instance, the access to the forbidden library was not allowed without special permission. The documentary library could only be consulted by university professors and students authorised by an academic institution. The registration cards of the books from both libraries would be withdrawn so that the public could not consult them. Access to the open library was also limited, as the librarian could refuse to lend a book if he/she considered it unsuitable (as cited in Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, p. 262).

The books registered in the forbidden and the documentary funds were signalled with letters “S” from “secret” and “D” from “documentary”. Their registration cards were also marked with these two letters. Nowadays, many books and registration cards guarded at the Library of the Romanian Academy hold these two letters. Many letters had been erased, and cannot be noticed, yet some cards still hold a perceivable print of the secret letters “S” and “D”. Corobca (2014 b) mentioned that in 1964 the state issued a legal disposition for the dissolution of the forbidden fund. The dissolution of the fund meant the trespassing of the secret material from an institution to another and the introduction of the registration cards within a general folder (p. 84). For instance, in 1973 the publications forbidden during 1945-1948 were transferred to the

National Archives, yet they continued to be considered forbidden (Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, p. 349).

The secret fund was established again in 1971 and functioned until 1989 when the communist regime collapsed. The books from the special and documentary funds were returned to the public in 1990. In January 1990, the Central University library commenced the transfer of the books held at the deposit of the forbidden books to the deposits that guarded free books. Some of these books were also distributed to different faculties (Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, p. 143). Costea, Király, Radosav (1995) described the process of the book liberation in a traumatised country that gained its freedom so dramatically. Thus, the authors explained that the release of the secret and documentary books involved two objections: the first was related to the management of the books liberation process, and the second objection comes from the ill mentality constructed by the communist ideology:

The second objection is given by the blockages and susceptibilities fomented by an ulcerated mentality and by the bellicosity of the past ideology, in the sense that the precautions regarding the secret fund affected not only the conscience and the behaviour of the librarians, but also that of the readers, both converted in a mistrust, as a characteristic feature of the transition and the everyday existence. The fears and uncertainties of an oppressive past developed during many decades are ineluctable when the freedom was so dramatically conquered. (p. 144)

3 CRITICAL RECEPTION OF EVELYN WAUGH

3.1 Evelyn Waugh: Praised and Dispraised by English Critics

One of the main books that presented most of the critical reception of Evelyn Waugh was *Evelyn Waugh: The Critical Heritage* by Martin Stannard (1984). In general terms, Waugh's works were positively received, though there were also critics who disagreed with the content of certain novels questioning the responsibility of Waugh as a satirist, his Catholic faith and political views. Stannard (1984) classified Waugh's critics in four principal categories: "Georgian litterateurs, Waugh's generation of Oxbridge literary men, the Catholic intelligentsia, [...] and those novelists and academics who have given serious, detailed attention to Waugh's works" (p. 5).

The first category was represented by the experienced men of letters who controlled the London literary reviews at the time Waugh initiated his literary career: John Collings Squire, Arnold Bennett and Gerald Gould (Stannard, 1984, p. 5). These critics appreciated Waugh's first three works: the biography of the painter Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Rossetti: His Life and Works* (1928), *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies*. Regarding *Rossetti*, Collings Squire, in a review published in the *Observer* on April 1928, considered this first work "extremely sensible and readable book" that Waugh wrote elegantly and with "unobtrusive wit" (p. 6). Waugh's first novel, *Decline and Fall* also received positive criticism from Gerald Gould, who mentioned in a review published by the *Observer* on 23 September 1928 that the novel was "richly and roaringly funny", and he considered Waugh a

humourist with an “exquisite ingenuousness of manner combined with a searching ingenuity of method” (1928, p. 8). Another positive assessment was given by the novelist and playwright Arnold Bennett in a review published by *Evening Standard* on 11 October 1928. Bennett assessed *Decline and Fall* as “an uncompromising and primarily malicious satire” (1928, p. 5). Nevertheless, Bennet had not maintained the same opinion regarding Waugh’s second novel *Vile Bodies*. In the review written for *Evening Standard* on 31 January 1930, Bennet stated that *Vile Bodies* was not as successful as *Decline and Fall* and even though he started reading the novel with great expectation, Bennett “found hard times in the middle of it” (1930, p. 5). In this review, the critic emphasized the superiority of Alec Waugh over his brother Evelyn as being “weightier than his cadet” (Bennet, 1930, p. 5).

The second category of critics presented by Stannard comprised the Oxbridge generation that would comprehend reviewers such as Harold Acton and Cyril Connolly. Acton who became a lifelong friend of Waugh, praised the “maturity of mind” that Waugh displayed in *Rossetti*. In a letter addressed to Waugh on May 1928 he recognized the “genuine and agreeable style” dealing with his subject of study “quietly and eloquently” (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 69). The critic, novelist and parodist Cyril Connolly reviewed *Decline and Fall* for *New Statesman* on 3 November 1928. Connolly provided a summary of the novel mentioning that it was not a masterpiece, but it was a funny book that he ever read twice (1928, p. 126). Connolly also expressed his opinion about *The Loved One* (1948) in a review published in *Horizon* in February 1948. He compared Waugh with Jonathan Swift as he considered that Waugh had more affinities to Swift than to

other humourists to which he was usually compared. Connolly assessed the novel as “one of the most perfect short novels of the last ten years and the most complete of his creations” (1948, pp. 76-77).

The third category of critics included the Catholic intelligentsia represented by writers like Christopher Sykes and Graham Greene. Christopher Sykes published a review in the *Time and Tide* on 2 July 1955 about the Second World War novel *Officers and Gentlemen* (1955). Sykes mentioned that the novel was “one enormous firework; a wild extravaganza on the most fantastic side of military life, that of the ‘private armies’” (1955, pp. 871-872). The novelist Graham Greene reviewed two biographies written by Waugh: *Edmund Campion* (1935) and *Ronald Knox* (1959). Greene positively assessed the biography of Edmund Campion on 1 November 1935 in the *Spectator*, mentioning that “Mr. Waugh’s study is a model of what a short biography should be. Sensitive and vivid it catches the curious note of gaiety and gallantry [...]” (1935, p. 736). Regarding Ronald Knox’s biography, Greene praised the style employed by Waugh when describing the life of Knox, stating that mainly the beginning and the end of the work were outstanding (1959, p. 23). Later, in 1966, in a letter published in *The Times*, Greene recognized Evelyn Waugh as the greatest novelist of his generation, even though they had different political ideologies and perceived religion differently. Greene remarked that his friendship with Waugh always remained unshakeable despite the fact that certain journalists tried to bring them into confrontation (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 164).

The last category of critics introduced by Stannard (1984) included admirers such as Rebecca West, and dissenters, for instance Donat O’Donnell. In 1928,

Rebecca West wrote to Waugh that she enjoyed the biography on *Rossetti*. She mentioned that being ill with flu she had read dozens of books and *Rossetti* was the only one that did not get her bored (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 80). Nonetheless, O'Donnell in a review published in *Spectator* on 19 July 1957 on the novel *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* (1957) did not display as much enthusiasm as West had had when reading *Rossetti*. O'Donnell declared that he “found *The Ordeal* moderately interesting, almost entirely unfunny and little embarrassing” (1957, p. 112). The critic considered the novel to be “light”, based on a theme unsuited to such treatment. This theme was Waugh himself. O'Donnell (1957) mentioned that as a satirist, Waugh could “allow himself a free hand-dealing, for example with the proletariat, the Americans and other beings beyond the range of human sympathy - but not when he is treating secret subjects, such as himself” (p. 112).

In the volume *The Picturesque Prison: Evelyn Waugh and His Writing*, Jeffrey Heath (1982) intended to refute Waugh's conviction that he was not a satirist writer. Waugh refused to consider himself a satirist, as he declared in the article “Fan-Fare” published in *Life* on 8 April 1946:

Satire is a matter of period. It flourishes in a stable society and presupposes homogenous moral standards [...] It exposes polite cruelty and folly by exaggerating them. It seeks to produce shame. All this has no place in the Century of the Common man where vice no longer pays lip to the virtue. The artist's only service to the disintegrated society of today is to create little independent systems of order of his own. [...]. (p. 60)

Waugh thought that satiric exaggeration was impossible because there were no shared standards, and that modern life was already exaggerated (Heath, 1982, p. 56). Heath sustained that even though Waugh claimed not to be a satirist and not using exaggeration, when chronicling the modern life, characters like “Fagan”, “Grimes” and “Prendergast” were mere caricatures (p. 57). Heath argued that the shared values required for satire still existed and Waugh exploited them for satiric effect: “Waugh’s “little independent system of order” were neither as independent nor as unexaggerated as he claimed” (1982, p. 57).

Waugh’s satire was sometimes considered cruel, as Frederick J. Stopp (1958) stated in his work *Evelyn Waugh: Portrait of an Artist*. “There have always been those who have felt repulsion at some incidents in the novels, which seemed to them to speak of childish and perverse delight in crudeness and cruelty for its own sake” (p. 192). On the other hand, James F. Carens (1966) in *The Satiric Art of Evelyn Waugh* claimed that Waugh’s early novels “remained generally negative and destructive; and consequently, Waugh is criticized for lacking a high moral purpose and writing satire without a moral centre” (p. 70).

This lack of morality that critics as well as publishers identified in Waugh’s works hindered the publishing of his first novel *Decline and Fall*, as mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. The novel was rejected for “indelicacy” by Duckworth publishers. Finally, it was accepted by Chapman and Hall in 1928, yet several changes in the manuscript were required “for reasons of propriety and literary improvement” (Doyle, 1967, p. 4). In the 1962 edition Waugh restored the original text, and P. A. Doyle (1967) provided some differences between the standard edition of 1928 and the restored edition of 1962. One of these

differences underlines the lack of moral bases identified by critics in Waugh's satire:

Waugh had originally written about the Welsh (1962 ed.): "Their sons and daughters mate freely with the sheep but not with human kind except their own blood relations" (79). In the 1928 edition this sentence reads, "their sons and daughters rarely mate with human kind except their own blood relations". (Doyle, 1967, p. 4)

Decline and Fall was not Waugh's only work that suffered modifications in order to be published and reach the public. Waugh's diaries were faced with the same problem. His diaries revealed not much about himself, but "many uncomplimentary things about others" (Heath, 1982, p. 53). Waugh believed that readers were not interested in his reflection on life, religion and politics, but rather in the ordinary routine of every day (as cited in Heath, 1982, p. 53). Waugh's diaries, as Heath stated, were "extremely offensive", and publishers Weidenfeld and Nicolson considered necessary to delete "twenty-three libellous references" for fear of the British libel laws" (p. 283). Weidenfeld and Nicolson also removed twenty more phrases because they could result "intolerably offensive or distressing to living persons or surviving relations" (Heath, 1982, p. 289). Some of the erased phrases referred to a friend of Waugh who used to take drugs and to the mistress of Cyril Connolly who was "lamed for life" (Heath, 1982, p. 289). The 1945-56 entry was erased, as Waugh mentioned a respectable man of

justice whose “only real pleasure in life was to be birched by a common prostitute. Perhaps his arse was at that moment smarting from the joys of the preceding evening” (as cited in Heath, 1982, p. 289). Heath (1982) mentioned that Waugh himself made numerous deletions, but not to protect others, but rather to protect himself (p. 289). Waugh admitted that he deleted part of his Oxford diary and also the entries regarding the failure of his first marriage as well as those that included his “Pinfold” hallucinations (Heath, 1982, p. 290).

One of Waugh’s novels that caused a considerable controversy was *Black Mischief* published in 1932. The novel contains sexual references and cannibalism scenes, which produced a negative reaction among certain representatives of the Catholic Church, such as Ernest Oldmeadow, the editor of the Catholic magazine *The Tablet*. Oldmeadow’s fierce criticism of *Black Mischief* was influenced by the fact that Waugh had converted to Catholicism in 1930, and the editor had not expected such a controversial novel from a Catholic writer, as it seemed that Waugh dispraised the Catholic values instead of praising them: “The Catholic public is entitled to know where Mr. Waugh stands. If he be indeed with us (as we hope and pray he is), why does he write like those who are against us, and what reparation will be made?” (Oldmeadow, 1933, p. 214). Oldmeadow wrote in an article published on 7 January 1933 that even though Waugh was received in the Catholic Church, *The Tablet* was not aware whether Waugh considered himself a Catholic; yet, in case he was regarded as Catholic, then *Black Mischief* would represent a “disgrace to anybody professing the Catholic name” (p. 214). When *Black Mischief* was elected Book of the Month, Oldmeadow called it “disgraceful and scandalous”:

This "Book of the Month," dated from Stonyhurst and signed by an author whose conversion had been widely and loudly bruited, turned out to be a work both disgraceful and scandalous. It abounds in coarse and sometimes disgusting passages, and its climax is nauseating. Nowhere in its three hundred pages is the reader's mind lifted to anything noble. Of the very many characters, hardly one is other than contemptible or ridiculous. Religion and Altruism are extensively mentioned; but invariably in a spirit of cynicism and, in some places, offensively. (p. 213)

In response to the editor's offences, Waugh's colleagues sent a letter to Oldmeadow stating that "we think these sentences exceed the bounds of legitimate criticism and are in fact an imputation of bad faith. In writing, we wish only to express our great regret at their being published and our regard for Mr. Waugh" (as cited in Stannard, 1944, p. 132). The letter was signed by twelve Catholic writers: M. C. D'Arcy, T. F. Burns, Bede Jarrett, D. B. Wyndham Lewis, O. P. Clonmore, Letitia Fairfield, Eric Gill, Christopher Hollis, C. C. Martindale, R. H. J. Steuart, Algar Thorold and Douglas Woodruff. Waugh also defended himself from Oldmeadow's accusations in two occasions. First in May 1933, Waugh wrote a letter to Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster in order to clear himself of all charges:

The story deals with the conflict of civilization, with all its attendant and deplorable ills and barbarism. The plan of my book throughout was to keep

the darker aspects of barbarism continually and unobtrusively present, a black and mischievous background against which the civilized and semi-civilized characters performed their parts [...]. (As cited in Heath, 1982, p. 102)

Second, in September 1943, in a letter to the journalist Tom Driberg, Waugh considered Oldmeadow's criticism both "unfavourable" and "a moral lecture":

Two aspects of "*Tablet*" article: a) an unfavourable criticism; b) a moral lecture. The first is completely justifiable. A copy of my novel was sent to the "*Tablet*" for review and the editor is therefore entitled to give his opinion of its literary quality in any terms he thinks suitable. In the second aspect, he is in the position of a valet masquerading in his master's clothes [...]. (As cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 140)

Ernest Oldmeadow was also critical with the novel *A Handful of Dust*. In a review published in *The Tablet* on 8 September 1934, the editor advised his friends not to read the novel. He hoped that after writing *Black Mischief*, Waugh would turn over "a completely new leaf", however he had not done so (Oldmeadow, 1934, p. 300). According to Oldmeadow (1934) good satirical entertainment was welcomed, nonetheless, *A Handful of Dust* was not well done, as Waugh "had not made a clear choice between tragi-comedy and farce" (p. 300). When comparing the scene in *Black Mischief*, when Basil Seal found that

he and some cannibals ate the body of his fiancée, with the climax of *A Handful of Dust*, Oldmeadow stated that this was less disgusting, but it was “sedulously and diabolically cruel” (p. 300). Tony Last’s frustration for not being able to escape from Mr. Todd, who kept Tony prisoner in a tropical forest, was considered by Oldmeadow “the cruellest passage ever invented by a novelist” (p. 300). Waugh was accused of misusing his talent for satirising a godless English society where religion was treated as a matter unworthy of inquiry. Oldmeadow stated that Waugh’s hatred for “the cadgers and gluttons and adulteresses was obscured by the snobbery” (p. 300). The editor advised Waugh to make “a clean Franciscan cut with the past” if he wanted to “taste true happiness”, and he should refrain from reprinting every ignoble book of which Waugh controlled the copyright (p. 300).

Black Mischief and *A Handful of Dust* were condemned mainly because of their uncatholic and cruel passages, whereas *Waugh in Abyssinia* (1936) was criticised for Waugh’s tendency to praising fascism. *Waugh in Abyssinia* is a memoir that recounts the author’s experience as a newspaper correspondent in the Italo-Abyssinian war (1935-1936). Stannard (1984) explained that Waugh dangerously played with the political implications of his Catholic faith when he declared that Italians represented Catholicism, order and culture (p. 29). Stannard (1984) clarified that Waugh’s political position was misinterpreted, since the author’s interest in the Italian invasion in Abyssinia “was principally the result of his aesthetic and religious predilections rather than political ones. He was more interested in the symbolic significance of the events than in their intrinsic complexity” (p. 29).

Nevertheless, the novelist, poet and critic, Rose Macaulay had a different opinion from Standard's regarding Waugh's political position in *Waugh in Abyssinia*. In a review published in *Horizon* in December 1946, Macaulay stated that Waugh went to Abyssinia as a war correspondent in order to write for the only London paper that seemed to transmit a realistic view of the events in Abyssinia (p. 370). Macaulay (1946) mentioned that by publishing this realistic view, the newspaper would transmit "the whinney", or the complaint of those who protested against the assault, against the Nazis and against the enslavement of Eastern Europe (p. 370). Macaulay accused Waugh of not supporting "this whinney" and praising the Italians for spreading order and decency as well as considering the Italian Marshal Rodolfo Graziani an agreeable man: "Mr. Waugh disagreed with this whinney. He found that the Italians had spread order, decency and civilization [...] that Graziani was a most agreeable man [...] and that 'the new regime is going to succeed'" (p. 370). The critic reproached Waugh for failing to understand that the Italian army was not exemplar, as it was sanctioned by the League of Nations for aggression against another League State. Macaulay called *Waugh in Abyssinia* "an odd and rather unchivalrous book" (p. 370). The author also questioned the motive of the book in order to determine Waugh's real political position. She concluded that Waugh's present work was of a "Fascist tract":

What is its motive? Preference for Italians over Abyssinia? That we most of us share [...] Dislike of black populations? He shows no such dislike in *Remote People*, *Black Mischief*, or *Scoop*. Support of a policy endorsed by Italian clergy? Very probably. [...] Dislike of the League of Nations?

Again, likely enough. Or merely sympathy with the big battalions? If it were that, Mr. Waugh should now be crying up the Russian domination, but he is not. This book must be pronounced a Fascist tract... (Macaulay, 1946, p. 370)

Rose Macaulay had not only disapproved of *Waugh in Abyssinia*, but also of one of Waugh's best novels, like *Brideshead Revisited* (1945), when she called it "trivial" full of "sentimentalities and adolescent values" (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 255). This novel was considered Waugh's "great fictional work of Catholic apologetics", where the author wrote about 'the workings of the divine purpose in the pagan world'" (Stannard, 1984, p. 35). Waugh distributed a hundred copies of an unpublished edition of *Brideshead Revisited* among his friends, like Graham Greene, Desmond MacCarthy and John Betjeman, all of whom expressed their enthusiasm regarding the novel (Stannard, 1984, p. 35). The first edition of *Brideshead Revisited* was published in 1945 and in 1959, Waugh completely revised the novel, added a preface and divided the original two "books" into three (Stannard, 1984, p. 35). The reviewers of this revised edition concluded that it represented a turning point in Waugh's career, establishing the author as "one of the masters of the contemporary fiction" (Stannard, 1984, p. 37).

Brideshead Revisited was praised by most of the reviewers and became quite successful mainly in the United States, placing Waugh on the "best-seller" lists. However, critics such as Edmund Wilson had not greeted the novel as most

of the reviewers had. In a review published on 5 January 1946 by *New Yorker*, Wilson declared that Waugh had finally written a “serious novel”, and he was excited because Waugh had broken away from the comic attitude for which he was famous and passed to a new dimension (p. 71). Nonetheless, it seemed that “breaking from the comic vein” was not a good option, since Wilson (1946) affirmed that “when Evelyn Waugh abandons his comic convention [...] turns out to be more or less disastrous” (p. 71). Wilson considered *Brideshead Revisited* a “romantic fantasy”, where Waugh’s snobbery arose shamelessly. The critic observed that the novel lacked something essential and the presence of religion was aimed to rectify this absence; yet what the religion invoked seemed like an “exorcistic rite” instead of “a force of regeneration” (pp. 73-74). Despite the faults that Wilson (1946) had identified in the novel, the critic concluded the review by predicting that the novel would prove to be extremely successful, (p. 74).

The work that followed *Brideshead Revisited* was the novella *Scott-King’s Modern Europe* (1947). This short novel was inspired on a trip to Spain in 1946 when Waugh and Douglas Woodruff, his old friend from the Oxford days and editor of *The Tablet*, were to attend an international conference in Madrid in honour of Francisco de Vittoria, a sixteenth-century Dominican jurist (Heath, 1982, p. 185). Brennan (2013) mentioned in *Evelyn Waugh, Fictions, Faith and Family* that Waugh’s and Woodruff’s experience at the conference was not very pleasant, but rather “grim, with endless delays, oppressive heat, tedious events and major problems with transportation home (pp. 94-95). They could finally return to England in a government aircraft of the British officials in Madrid (Heath, 1982, p. 185). The main character of the novel, the schoolmaster Scott-King,

passed through similar difficulties, as he could not return back home from a country called Neutralia conquered by the Athenians, Carthaginians, Romans, Hapsburgs and Napoleon. Scott-King ended in a Jewish illicit immigrants' camp in Palestine from where he was rescued by a former student of his literature class. Neutralia was governed by a "dominant Marshal" whose main accomplishment had been to keep the country out of the Second World War. Critics had been a bit severe with this short novel. John Woodburn in a review published in *New Republic* on 24 March 1949 stated that Waugh wrote this work "without much care, to get it done and over with" (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 298). Woodburn's main critique consisted in the fact that Waugh had not appropriately developed his satire towards a totalitarian state: "such a subject clearly offers rich opportunities to a satirical gift as great as his, and I admit that my disappointment in these eighty-nine skimmed and slapdash pages was in direct proportion to my expectations" (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 297).

Alongside Woodburn, George Orwell, one of Waugh's admirers, expressed his opinion on *Scott-King's Modern Europe* in a review published in 1949 by *New York Times Book Review*. The author compared the novel with *The Loved One* (1948), considering the first work less brilliant than the second, accusing Waugh of having a narrow political vision and robbing the story of a fundamental point: "Revolutions happen in authoritarian countries, not in liberal ones, and Mr. Waugh's failure to see the implications of this fact not only narrows his political visions, but also robs his story of part of its point" (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 296). Orwell considered that Waugh had not properly differentiated communism from fascism. Waugh was also criticised by Orwell for presenting

Neutroalia as a dictatorship of the Right while it carried the faults of the dictatorship of the Left. Orwell's severest statement referred to the character Scott-King as a symbol of the "diehard, know-nothing attitude" that in the Europe of the last fifty years, had helped to create the conditions that Waugh was criticising. Orwell concluded the review by stating that *Scott-King's Modern Europe* was a readable book, but "it lacked the touch of affection that political satire ought to have" (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 296).

The Loved One was published after *Scott-King's Modern Europe* in *Horizon*, the magazine of Waugh's friend Cyril Connolly. The novel was as polemical as most of Waugh's works. It satirized the American mortuary customs practiced at the Californian cemetery of Forest Lawns. Waugh considered Forest Lawns a unique place: "the only thing in California that is not a copy of something else" (as cited in Amory, 1980, p. 247). In a letter to Cyril Connolly, Waugh explained that the novel aimed to transmit the lack of identity of Americans, as "there is no such thing as an American. They are all exiles uprooted, transplanted and doomed to sterility" (as cited in Amory, 1980, p. 265). The author of an unsigned review of *The Loved One* published in *Times Literary Supplement* on 20 November 1948, evaluated the novel as "a satire, witty and macabre, ominous and polished, which strikes straight at the heart of contemporary problems" (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 40). The novel was considered by Americans a possible libellous material and its publication was delayed a few months (Stannard, 1984, p. 39).

Heath (1982) clarified that the *Horizon* version and the first edition of the novel suffered a series of deletions, which had been restored in a Texas

manuscript. The Texas manuscript contained a more detailed portrait of the character “Sir Ambrose Abercrombie”:

On those evenings when Sir Ambrose came to Sir Francis for entertainment he swam in Sir Francis pool courted the executives' wives [...] He married a 'plain garrulous wealthy lady of the country' [...] A coward, he was frightened by the sinking of the Titanic and when World War I began he made the 'great decision' to leave his ship in New York. Now began a new life of 'women; the West, the movies; a new name, a new life... the talkies, the false, the fruity, the entirely captivating English accent. (Heath, 1982, p. 309)

A deleted scene from the *Horizon* version and the first edition was the moment when Sir Francis invited Dennis Barlow to live with him when they met at Megalopolitan Cafeteria. The Texas manuscript restored the scene when Aymée called Mr. Slump for advice, since she wanted to commit suicide. Mr. Slump advised her to “order [...] a nice big bottle of poison and drink it to his health” (as cited in Heath, 1982, p. 309). Aymée's death was represented in the Texas manuscript in two accounts. In the first, she drank a 'swig of poison' and a watchman covered her in a sheet. The second version was similar to the published version, except that it continued to describe in a rich language the “sudden convulsions’, and ‘spasm’ which afflicted her after she injected the poison” (Heath, 1982, p. 309).

Critics' opinions on *The Loved One* were divided. For instance, Cyril Connolly praised the novel while writers such as John Bayley and Edmund Wilson criticised Waugh's Catholic stance. Cyril Connolly in the introduction of the first printing of the novel in the *Horizon* magazine compared Waugh with Swift and Donne stating that Waugh had written a Swiftian satire, which exposed a materialistic society:

A Swiftian satire on the burial customs of Southern California, and his irony need not be taken to reflect on America as a whole. [...] In its attitude to death, and to death stand-in, failure, Mr. Waugh exposes a materialist society at its weakest spot, as would Swift or Donne were they alive today. (As cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 300)

John Bayley had not shared Connolly's opinion, and in a review published in *National Review* in February 1948 on *The Loved One* and *The Heart of the Matter* (1948) by Graham Greene stated that both authors used Catholicism as a "weapon and a probe; they explored vice and anarchy from a definite standpoint" claiming that *The Loved One* revealed "the conviction that the Catholic and European tradition about death was right and that the Californian conspiracy about it was wrong" (as cited in Stannard, 1984, pp. 312-313). Bayley regarded *The Loved One* as a form of didacticism and saw Waugh and Greene as two authors that explored life from the standpoint of a fixed idea: Catholic, Existentialist and Communist (as cited in Stannard, 1984, pp. 41, 313).

John Farrelly in a review published in the magazine *Scrutiny* in winter 1951 exposed the criticism of Edmund Wilson regarding *The Loved One*. Wilson criticised Catholics for “swallowing the priest’s doctrine”, ridiculed Waugh’s belief in a life after death and he situated in a favourable light the cemetery patrons who practiced mortuary art, as they “seemed more sensible and less absurd than the priest-guided Evelyn Waugh” (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 316). The patrons were just trying to:

Gloss over physical death with smooth lawns and soothing rites; but for the Catholic the fact of death is not to be faced at all: he is solaced with the fantasy of another world in which everyone who has died in the flesh is somehow supposed to be still alive and in which it is supposed to be possible to help souls advance themselves by buying candles to burn in churches. (As cited in Stannard, 1984, pp. 316-317)

Wilson concluded the review by stating that it was only Waugh’s opinion that the vulgarization of death by using cosmetics to embellish corpses paralleled a vulgar attitude to life (as cited in Stannard, 1984, pp. 316-317).

Regarding the British and American critical reception of Evelyn Waugh’s works, it could be concluded that Waugh received both positive and negative criticism. It seemed that each work, for instance *Brideshead Revisited* was, on the one hand, positively assessed by a number of critics, and, on the other hand, negatively received by other critics. Critics’ reviews disclosed a tendency of

Waugh's works towards polemics provoked by his political, religious and social stands. Waugh was accused of introducing in his narrative his preference for the fascist ideology, his tendency of preaching the Catholic dogma and his snobbery.

3.2 Waugh's Critical Reception in the Francoist Spain

The earliest reference to Waugh in the Spanish press dates from 1944, when the periodical *ABC* enumerated a series of novels considered best-sellers at the Feria nacional del libro (National Fair Book), which included *Decline and Fall* translated as *Un puñado de polvo* published by Aymá. That was on 4 June 1944. Some days later, on 17 June, *La Vanguardia* mentioned that the film company Metro Goldwin Mayer Studios was about to adapt into films some of Waugh's works¹⁸. *La Vanguardia* made another brief reference to Waugh on 25 May 1944, when the scholar Derek Traversi, in a conference held at the British Council, mentioned that the young Waugh was one of the great hopes of the British literature alongside Graham Greene. In July 1944, *La Vanguardia* also published a short note on a plane crash where Waugh and Randolph Churchill were flying during their military mission in Yugoslavia. These are only some short references to Waugh in the press, however, this section will concentrate on more extensive articles and monographs on Waugh.

The first detailed article on Waugh was written in 1949 by Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer¹⁹. In "La novela católica en la Inglaterra actual" (The Catholic Novel in Contemporary England) published by the cultural magazine *Arbor*, Aguirre de Cárcer stated that his article could be the first introduction of Waugh to the

¹⁸ *La Vanguardia* did not mention what novels would be adapted into films.

¹⁹ Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer was an ambassador of Spain whose diplomatic career initiated in London in 1946. He was Spain's ambassador to countries like Belgium and the United States. During his career, Aguirre de Cárcer published a series of essays on international politics.

Spanish public, and for this reason, he aimed at providing an elaborated presentation of the author (p. 81). Thus, in the first section entitled “Evelyn Waugh, the Man”, Aguirre de Cárcer presented some aspects of Waugh’s private life, such as his unsuccessful experience at Oxford, the failure of his first marriage with Evelyn Gardner and his conversion to Catholicism in 1930. The essayist also referred to Waugh’s novella *Scott-King’s Modern Europe*, inspired on Waugh’s trip to Spain in 1946. Aguirre De Cárcer clarified that, with this novel, Waugh intended to erase any fascist trace remained from his experience as a war correspondent in Abyssinia (p. 82). This first section of the article concluded with Aguirre de Cárcer’s opinion about Waugh, whose experiences seemed to have matured and embittered him, yet he still conserved a prolific imagination and lexical richness, which placed him in the foreground of the contemporary English novelists (p. 83).

The second section of the Aguirre de Cárcer’s article was entitled “La sociedad desatada” (“The Uncontrollable Society”) and presented the wild society depicted in Waugh’s first two novels, *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies*. These novels portrayed a series of “irresponsible characters” represented in Aguirre de Cárcer’s words by “barbarous youth, old chatterboxes, hysterical girls and insolent students, all of whom were gifted with a mosquito brain, radically unable to tolerate the weight of a single significant idea. They were the arbiters of the brilliant and bustling society prior to the first war and the beginning of the post-war period” (p. 83)²⁰. Aguirre de Cárcer claimed that Waugh wasted his

²⁰ “Tanto en una como en otra desfilan una serie de personajes irresponsables, de jóvenes bárbaros, de viejas cotorras, de niñas histéricas, de estudiantes

imagination, as he employed in *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies* an amount of material that other writers would have used to fill up a dozen novels. The critic called these novels the “Vanity Fair” of the 1930, as they portrayed an époque and were inspired on real people, as for instance the evangelist preacher Aimée McPherson represented in the novel by Mrs. Ape (p. 84).

The third section called “Embrujo africano” (“The African Spell”) comprised a review of the three-works based on Waugh’s travelling as war correspondent in Abyssinia: *Black Mischief*, *Waugh in Abyssinia* and *Scoop*. Aguirre de Cárcer compared Waugh with Dickens for his endless talent of constructing lively characters such as those presented in *Black Mischief* (p. 85). The critic stated that *Black Mischief* was a funny book, nonetheless it had not only represented “a comical toy” but also a fierce critique of the “enchantments of the contemporary civilization and mainly of the theories based on the defaming materialism, which triumphed in the world prior to the post-war” (p. 86).

Regarding the memoir *Waugh in Abyssinia*, Aguirre de Cárcer noticed that Waugh presented the Italian occupation in Abyssinia in a favourable light. This positive attitude of Waugh toward the Italians had provoked a negative reaction of many critics who accused Waugh of being a fascist (p. 86). Waugh tried to remove this accusation when writing the novella *Scott-King’s Modern Europe*. *Scoop* was the last novel that concluded the “black cycle”, as Aguirre de Cárcer called Waugh’s works based on Abyssinia. *Scoop* described, on the one hand,

desvergonzados, todos ellos dotados de un cerebro de mosquito radicalmente incapaz de soportar el peso de una sola idea elevada. Son los árbitros de la sociedad, brillante y bulliciosa, de antes de la primera guerra y principios de la posguerra”.

the atrocities of an African State disturbed by revolutionary riots provoked by fascist and communist interests, and, on the other hand, the eccentricities of those journalists in search of the great scoop in order to be read by as many people as possible (p. 86). Aguirre de Cárcer mentioned that in *Scoop*, Waugh might have taken revenge for the unhappy experience in the newspaper *Daily Express*, which dismissed Waugh in unpleasant conditions (p. 86).

The fourth section that Aguirre de Cárcer entitled “En la encrucijada” (“At the Crossroads”) pointed at Waugh’s transition to a more serious attitude regarding life. This serious attitude was transmitted in the novel *A Handful of Dust* where the “humoristic vein” continued to dominate without representing the “raw material” (p. 87). In the present section, Aguirre de Cárcer summarized the novel, which he considered

A contemplation of a more serious attitude concerning the crisis of the contemporary society. A gaily mockery of such society was no longer acceptable, as such mockery would transform in pure laughter; thus, it is the time to be openly condemned in a clear language. However, the author had not granted any solution, but only an ash flavour and a handful of dust. (p. 88)²¹

²¹ “Esta novela es un reflejo de una actitud más seria ante la crisis de la sociedad contemporánea. Ya no basta con ridiculizarla alegremente, pues esa crítica se desvanece en pura risa; hay que condenarla abiertamente en un lenguaje inequívoco. Pero no nos ofrece ninguna solución; nos ha quedado un sabor de cenizas en los labios y un puñado de polvo en la mano”.

In the upcoming section “Nostalgia y esperanza” (“Nostalgia and Hope”), Aguirre de Cárcer presented *Brideshead Revisited*. In this novel, the author renounced his usually comic tone, as he employed a more serious matter like the Catholic religion. Thus, his readers detested the fact that Waugh stopped being comic, and they found him “too tiresome when he was not causing laughter” (p. 88). Aguirre de Cárcer considered *Brideshead Revisited* Waugh’s most reflective novel, which addressed the matter of the Catholic solution as the only one suitable in an environment of spiritual restlessness and intellectual decay of the post-war society (p. 89). Aguirre de Cárcer stated that the Spanish public may not be enthusiastic with the novel, first because the Catholic view might not be presented as clearly as the Spanish readers would expect and, secondly, the lessons the novel intended to teach could be considered unoriginal (p. 89).

In the last section of the article entitled “Alfilerazos” (“Pinpricks”), Aguirre de Cárcer criticised Waugh’s *Scott-King’s Modern Europe*. Aguirre de Cárcer’s criticism to this novel was predictable, as he was a diplomat who defended Spain’s interests. The critic asked what the real aim of the novel was. Had Waugh intended to say that “Scott-King’s adventures in the tumult of the cultural conferences were typical of our times, or more precisely, typical of a certain type of countries?” (p. 92)²². Aguirre de Cárcer claimed that the novel presented a background of contempt and bitterness that Waugh tried to mitigate using an indirect criticism based on “simple ridicule” (p. 92). According to Aguirre de

²² “¿Quiere con ello decir que las aventuras del profesor Scott-King metido en el barullo de los congresos culturales, son típicas de nuestra época y más concretamente de cierta clase de países?”.

Cárcer, Waugh's target of ridicule was "a policy, which achieved splendid results in the national culture" (p. 92). Aguirre de Cárcer seemed not to enjoy *Scott-King's Modern Europe*, because the novel was based on the sacrifice of ideologies and tendencies that Waugh should respect:

This novel provoked laughter easily, but deep down there is absolutely nothing; It is a completely negative work, done at the expense of sacrificing ideas and trends that Waugh should respect (p. 93)²³

Aguirre de Cárcer also mentioned the novel *The Loved One*, which was considered a "macabre farce" in which Waugh employed the manner of perceiving death in order to underline the failure of the materialistic society (p. 93). According to Aguirre de Cárcer, the novel was a parody of the American customs, and it might have caused indignation among Americans. The critic concluded that Waugh did not seem to care about the Americans annoyance, as the sarcastic tone Waugh employed in his last novels was proof that Waugh was not as interested in his readers as he used to be. Aguirre de Cárcer stated that disappointments transformed Waugh into a bitter person. For this reason, Waugh decided to retire to a village house and live a serene life alongside his family (p. 93).

²³ "En ésta consigue fácilmente la risa, sino la carcajada, pero en el fondo no queda absolutamente nada; es una labor completamente negativa, hecha a costa de sacrificar ideas y tendencias que él debiera respetar".

In 1958, nine years after the publication of Aguirre de Cárcer's article, the writer and essayist José María Souviron published a review entitled "Un enfermo original" ("An Original Patient") in the magazine *Blanco y Negro*. The author introduced Waugh as "one of the rudest humourists of the English literature", and called his works "savouring and picturesque, very 'English' and difficult to understand mainly by those who are not English, but in any case, they are of an unquestionable value" (p. 102)²⁴. Souviron (1958) expressed his opinion regarding the novels *The Loved One* and *Brideshead Revisited*: the former was considered a comic critique of the mortuary customs in the United States and the later was viewed as a "profound and transcendental novel" (p. 102).

In this review, Souviron mentioned other novels by Waugh, yet he focused mainly on *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*, which depicted the adventures of a writer who suffered of an illness of the nervous system. Souviron stated that Waugh took advantage of this nervous illness of Pinfold to create funny scenes where the author employed a soft and occasionally implacable humour (p. 102). Souviron claimed that *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* was not a novel, as it lacked a plot and a sequence of action, nonetheless it was written "with elegance, flexibility and apprehension" using "an original and light style" (p.102). Gilbert Pinfold's hallucinations disclosed "an interesting and despicable human fauna" (p.102). The book resulted to be a comedy where Waugh employed "a sharp and sometimes slapping mockery" (p. 102).

²⁴ "Mister Waugh ha escrito varios libros sabrosos y pintorescos, muy "ingleses" de cierta dificultad para los que no lo son, pero de indudable valor en todo caso".

In 1959, the critic Carlos Luis Álvarez published an article on the novel *The Loved One* in the magazine *Punta Europa*. The article entitled “Evelyn Waugh: crítica de la muerte aséptica” (“Evelyn Waugh: Criticism of the Aseptic Death”) focused on the fact that Waugh criticised a materialistic society, which had ignored that the “unique and authentic civilization depends on the spirit not on the substance” (p. 30)²⁵. Álvarez noticed that Waugh’s early novels, such as *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies* analysed the “futile and grotesque” generation of bright young people, night clubs and any other marionettes that Waugh encountered in his way (p. 29). Nonetheless, in the subsequent novels, Waugh oriented his criticism toward a society deteriorated by “a ridiculous and dangerous anxiety to reach the futurism and also by an absolute absence of faith” (p. 29)²⁶. Álvarez agreed with Aguirre de Cárcer (1949) on the complaint of Waugh’s readers for introducing in his novels religious matters instead of writing comic texts: “the public wanted ‘circus’ while the writer had decided to practice surgery on the soul of that public and that society, which glorified him” (p. 29)²⁷.

Álvarez considered *The Loved One* a “macabre anecdote”, which displayed a series of materialistic characters full of life energy who produced this morality failure of the “Forest Lawn” cemetery (p. 30). Álvarez sustained that

²⁵ “Esa sociedad en la que proliferan los “embellecedores”- viene a decirnos el escritor- olvida que la única y verdadera civilización depende del espíritu, y no de la materia”.

²⁶ “Pero desde la aparición de aquel libro, el novelista abandona su actitud estruendosamente jocosa y se detiene a observar una sociedad secretamente minada por el bullicio insensato, por el ansia ridícula y peligrosa de futurismo y por una carencia absoluta de fe modeladora [...]”.

²⁷ Álvarez: “El público quería “circo”, mientras que el escritor había decidido intervenir quirúrgicamente el alma de ese público y de esa sociedad que le había aclamado”.

Waugh applied in the novel what Dean Howells called the “smiling aspects” of life with the purpose “to confront with a civilization fundamentally absurd” (p. 30). The critic questioned whether the body embellishers intended to technically erase the differences between life and death. They seemed to present the positive side of death, nonetheless not from the death point of view, but from the life point of view, since corpses were embellished as if they were still alive. Álvarez, like Waugh, argued that death should deserve respect, as it “holds its own stigma, its own dignity and even its own scenography” (p. 31)²⁸. Álvarez, on the one hand, approved Waugh’s criticism in the Forest Lawn cemetery practice, nonetheless, on the other hand, he concluded that in *The Loved One*, Waugh elevated the ironic character of his criticism to merciless levels elaborating a novel that was not actually enlightening, but rather polemical (p. 31).

Later, in 1961, Carola Osete published in the magazine *Eidos: Revista de Investigación y Cultura*, one of the most representative articles dedicated to Waugh. It was entitled “Evelyn Waugh, un humorista serio” (“Evelyn Waugh, a Serious Humourist”). The critic initiated the article with a detailed description of Waugh’s early life at Lancing school, then at Oxford University until 1930 when the author converted to Catholicism. Osete (1961) underlined Waugh’s tendency to polemics even since he was a young student at Lancing. It seemed that the student Waugh used to rebel against all sort of authority and write articles that criticised the Parliament and other respectable traditions (p. 71).

²⁸ “Los servidores de ese cementerio californiano desean presentar el lado positivo de la muerte, pero no desde ésta, sino desde la vida. Aquí empieza lo anómalo del asunto. La muerte tiene su propio pudor, su propia dignidad y hasta su propia escenografía”.

In the first unit of Osete's monograph, "El mundo de Evelyn Waugh" ("The World of Evelyn Waugh"), the author stated that the world literature of the post First World War period highlighted the absence of any social and familial responsibility, which subordinated to a personal expression (p. 73). Osete mentioned that the novels that best portrayed this lack of responsibility were *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) by Ernest Hemingway, *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies* by Evelyn Waugh, as well as other novels by Graham Greene and Aldous Huxley (p. 74). The critic stated that these authors were accused by Richard Church (1961) in his work *Growth of the English Novel* of employing pessimism and social satire as their basic subject. According to Church (1961), pessimism and social satire were characteristics that could not nourish the human spirit for a long time, because they did not promote imagination and weaken the strengths of the reason (p. 73).

Regarding Waugh's novels, Osete indicated that all of them were centred on the same problem: "the contrast between Great Britain with its past grandeur and post-war Great Britain, where a generation of snob youths were living as if they belonged to an absurd dream, from which they would wake up and discover a terrible reality" (p. 75)²⁹. Evelyn Waugh was accused of being a snob for setting the action of his novels in high society. Osete claimed that Waugh indeed was a snob, on account that Waugh knew very well this high society and succeeded in

²⁹ "[...] El contraste entre la Gran Bretaña, todavía soñando con su pasada grandeza, y la Gran Bretaña de la posguerra, en la que una generación de jóvenes esnobs vive como si formaran parte de otro sueño absurdo, para despertar todos en una realidad de pesadilla".

realistically describing it in his novels and conceding it a human touch that sweetened it (p. 75). Osete mentioned that in the post-war period, it was fashionable to write about the proletariat and about writers that were confronted with a sort of problem, nonetheless, Waugh was not in contact with such environments and for this reason he wrote about what he best knew: the aristocrats (p. 73). Waugh once declared: “today, mentioning an aristocrat causes more controversy than referring to a public woman sixteen years ago” (as cited in Osete, 1961, p. 75)³⁰. Even though Osete initially justified Waugh's snobbery, she finally concluded that Waugh was certainly a snob, as it seemed incredible how a critic and satirist of his category could believe that belonging to an antique family implied holding certain values (p. 75). To sustain her statement, Osete provided an example from *Vile Bodies* when doctor Fagan declared that he would forgive his son in law any physical and personality defects if he was a real gentleman (p. 75).

In the unit “Las novelas de Evelyn Waugh” (“The Novels of Evelyn Waugh”), Osete provided a review of some of Waugh's novels. Regarding *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies*, the critic pointed out that they recreated a decadent high society and *Vile Bodies* was the apotheosis of the parties given by the high society, seasoned by Waugh with salt and vinegar: “garden-parties, birthday-parties, fancy-dress-parties, savage-parties, futuristic-parties, and all sorts of parties. A human mass having fun: those vile bodies” (as cited in Osete,

³⁰ “Mencionar a un aristócrata hoy causa más alboroto que referirse a una mujer pública hace sesenta años”.

1961, p. 78). In the novels *Black Mischief* and *Scoop* the action developed in such a manner that the reader was not completely sure about who were the authentic savages, the black or the white living in the fictitious Azania. Osete stated that the Azania Imperium “was like a grotesque nightmare, being the collision of two civilizations depicted by a metaphor that T.S. Elliot and Edith Sitwell also employed: the decadent life of a super-civilized society resembled to the cannibalism of the savages” (p. 79)³¹. In the novel *The Loved One*, Osete (1961) considered that Waugh achieved the peak of his novelistic perfection in style and technique (p. 79). The novel was a satire and a macabre comedy that caused controversies among the Americans, as they believed that Waugh insulted America, yet as in *Scott-King’s Modern Europe* Waugh insulted Europe, then the situation was in balance (p. 80).

In the section “El escritor católico” (“The Catholic Writer”), Osete (1961) mentioned that in *Brideshead Revisited* Waugh depicted the nostalgia of the great times of the English nobility; nonetheless Waugh employed a certain romanticism that resulted in being anachronistic and this was not his style (p. 81). Osete thought that the seriousness of Waugh’s novels had not laid down what they expressed, but in the “research” that can be perceived, as reading his novels one after another in a short time revealed a disguised autobiography (p. 82). Nevertheless, this seriousness had not implied a detailed description of the

³¹ “El Imperio de Azania es como una pesadilla grotesca, el choque entre dos civilizaciones visto a través de una metáfora que también se encuentra en T.S. Elliot y Edith Sitwell: la vida decadente de una sociedad supercivilizada viene a asemejarse al canibalismo de los salvajes”.

spiritual interior drama, as Waugh continued to employ a casual style, excepting some solemn paragraphs (p. 83). The critic closed the article by stating that Waugh was not granted neither the Nobel Prize nor a national one, yet he gained the highest award that Britain ever conceded to the best writers: to have his works published in the collection of *The Penguin Books*, achievement that only writers such as Bernard Shaw had reached (p. 83).

In 1963, Carlos Luis Álvarez published another article about Evelyn Waugh in the section “Crítica Literaria” (“Literary Criticism”) of *ABC* newspaper. In the article entitled “‘Los silencios del dr. Murke’ por Heinrich Böll” (“‘Murke’s Collected Silences’ by Heinrich Böll”), Álvarez made a curious comparison between the winner of the Nobel Prize in literature, Heinrich Böll, and Evelyn Waugh, which resulted from the fact that Böll’s work was inspired by English authors like Swift, Dickens or Joyce, and he employed the same style as Evelyn Waugh (p. 86). Böll as well as Waugh transmitted their social attack through festive satire. Álvarez thought that the characters of both writers could not be aware of their own ridiculousness, and Waugh and Böll’s seriousness was always grotesque (p. 86). Waugh grazed the irreverence and reached the peak of cruelty with the novel *The Loved One*. Álvarez also compared Waugh with the author of the Spanish novel *El Lazarillo de Tormes*, as this satirical novel, as well as most of Waugh’s novels completely lacked a moral consideration and a moral message. Most of the characters of Waugh’s works behaved the same as the characters of *El Lazarillo* (p. 86). Álvarez considered that Böll was less cruel than Waugh, as he always left a door open to reflection, rectification and hope. Álvarez

concluded that Waugh's job as social columnist in a newspaper would justify his "tragic coldness, and his advanced ideas regarding the human idiocy" (p. 86)³².

The novel *The Loved One* raised interest among the Spanish critics and in 1965, the novel was reviewed by the historian and writer Jorge Siles Salinas. The review entitled "Ante la muerte" ("Before Death") was published in *ABC* on 8 April. Siles Salinas remarked that *The Loved One* was a sharp and lucid criticism of the follies of the contemporary society that decided to evade the reality of death (p. 55). The distinctive feature of the cemetery Forest Lawn was that the existence of death was suppressed. Siles Salinas stated that Waugh revealed through a fierce critique and exaggeration the reality of contemporary society, which consisted of the fact that people believed themselves immortal, and for this reason they tried to remove the image of death (p. 55). Thus, one of the consequences of this behaviour was the progressive removal of mourning as a symbol of death (p. 55). The critic clarified that the belief in an immortal life implied being aware of the presence of death, and life should be interpreted as a transition to an afterlife: "an authentic Christian behaviour consisted of a lucid activity of conscience – the only way by which life can reach its authentic dimension - through which one could contemplate the perishable reality as a transition toward the unfading and perfect afterlife under the gaze of God" (p. 55)³³.

³² "Evelyn Waugh fue cronista de sociedad en un periódico. Se comprende su trágica frialdad y sus ideas avanzadas respecto a la idiotez humana".

³³ "El comportamiento verdaderamente cristiano consiste en una lúcida actitud de conciencia – única forma de que la vida adquiera su dimensión auténtica -, gracias a la

In 1966, Waugh died, and Spanish journalists like Carlos Luis Álvarez, who used the pseudonym Cándido, Claudio de la Torre and Mercedes Ballesteros published on 12 and 13 April two articles in *ABC*. The first article written by Claudio de la Torre and Mercedes Ballesteros was entitled “Fallece el novelista inglés Evelyn Waugh” (“The English Novelist Evelyn Waugh Died”). The article included a short biography of Waugh, in which the authors mentioned Waugh’s conversion to Catholicism, his participation in the Second World War and his shift to a more serious writing, as he intended “to represent man in his most complete shape”, which for Waugh meant the representation of man in his relationship with God (p. 71). According to Torres and Ballesteros, Waugh in the 1920s was a young innovator, and later, he became a sort of a rural gentleman who believed that Christian values were being lost (p. 71). The article concluded with Gerard Fay’s comparison of Waugh’s life with “a “clown” who converted into Hamlet: the life of a humourist who became a thinker” (p. 71)³⁴.

Cándido, the *ABC* correspondent to London, wrote another article on Waugh’s death entitled “Última hora: los seres queridos” (“Scoop: The Loved Ones”). Cándido (1966) mentioned that Waugh wrote an article to defend the writer Penham-Greenville Wodehouse who was accused by the BBC of being a Nazi collaborator. In this article, Waugh stated that he appreciated Wodehouse not because he was a great writer, but because he had “that something that one

cual esté en condiciones de contemplar su realidad perecedera como un tránsito hacia la vida venidera, inmarcesible y perfecta bajo la mirada de Dios”.

³⁴ “La vida de Evelyn Waugh podría compararse a la de un “clown” que llegase a convertirse en Hamlet; la de un humorista que acabara en un pensador”.

could not define” (Álvarez, 1966, p. 90). “That something that one could not define” was also perceived by Cándido in Waugh, and his death caused the journalist “an indefinable disappointment” (p. 90). Cándido mentioned that *The Loved One* was the first novel by Waugh he had read, and he acknowledged that England had one of the most original artists (p. 90). The journalist noticed that Waugh’s life was for a long time “a dazzling failure”, as, first, he was not accepted by the English aristocracy, and, second, his journalistic career resulted to be unsuccessful (p. 90). Cándido observed that Waugh’s works seemed to “tremble of resentment”, and Waugh’s conversion to Catholicism represented a sort of protest to the society that refused to accept him. Cándido explained that Waugh, in his article dedicated to Wodehouse, declared that he used to write a comic line, and then he was tempted to write other lines in order to explain the first, when the “second pieces” were not actually necessary. The journalist believed that the success of Waugh’s novels consisted precisely in those “second pieces” that he never wrote (p. 90).

In May 1966, a month after Waugh’s death, B. Menczer published in the magazine *Nuestro Tiempo* the article “Evelyn Waugh, caballero de antaño” (“Evelyn Waugh, a Yesteryear Gentleman”). Menczer claimed that in the country of Shakespeare, being an actor was something universal, and everybody played one or even more roles. Actors were sincerely in love with their masks, and Evelyn Waugh was in love with his role of gentlemen of the passed times, a role that he seriously interpreted (p. 492). Waugh was sometimes a frivolous writer who had never fallen in the vulgarities of his generation, always employing an elegant language that distinguished him from his contemporaries. Menczer stated

that Waugh was also a pure romantic who adopted not only the style of the rural nobility, but also the old rural, pre-industrial and pre-democratic Catholic England (p. 493). Waugh's works, his satires, biographies on Edmund Campion or Ronald Knox, his travel books, they were all written in a romantic spirit (p. 493). Menczer concluded that Waugh was rather an aesthete, who had not evolved beyond his Catholicism. His success could be owed to the fact that his works might have been less problematic than other Catholic author's works, which readers found "too polemical, too exaggerated, too European or probably not too English" (p. 495)³⁵.

After his death, Waugh was not forgotten by the Spanish critics, and in 1968, the journalist Harpo published in the newspaper *ABC* an article about the filmic adaptation of *Decline and Fall*. The film directed by John Krish, was presented at San Sebastian Film Festival in 1968. Harpo's article was entitled "Continua la mediocridad del certamen tras la proyección de *Decline and Fall* (Inglaterra) y *El dependiente* (Argentina) ("The Mediocrity of the Contest Continues after the projection of *Decline and Fall* (England) and *The Salesman* (Argentina)"). The journalist claimed that both films, the British and the Argentinian - based on the novel of Waugh and a short story by the Argentinian writer Jorge Zuhai - were dominated by their literary origin, meaning that the novels overpowered the film production (p. 45). Harpo stated that Krish had

³⁵ "Es muy posible, por otra parte, que haya sido precisamente la ausencia de algunos problemas en la obra de Evelyn Waugh lo que le hizo merecer el aprecio de numerosos lectores ingleses que encontraron los otros autores católicos, o demasiado polémicos, o demasiado exagerados, o demasiado europeos, o quizás demasiado poco ingleses".

diluted Waugh's acid humour and his sharp vision about society. The director only maintained the "anecdotal part" of the novel and employed a mediocre humour, easily accessible (p. 45). Therefore, the cinematographic production of *Decline and Fall* was not a faithful version of the novel, as it resulted to be way too far from the original, nonetheless "it was a brilliant presentation, yet quite superficial that will be certainly commercial" (p. 45).

The journalist Antonio de Obregon had a different opinion regarding the filmic adaptation of *Decline and Fall*. Obregon wrote about the film in a review entitled "Una buena novela inglesa más en la pantalla" ("Another Great English Novel on the Screen") published in *ABC* on 9 August 1969. The only objection that Obregon had to the film was its "nearly outrageous" name: *Decline and Fall of a Bird Watcher* (p. 53). The journalist stated that *Decline and Fall* represented a definitive fall and decline, thus "it should never be interpreted as a joke, since the English humour was always very serious" (p. 53)³⁶. Obregon suggested that, in the novel, Waugh denounced a cruel society that constructed an unhuman system where the main character, Paul Pennyfeather, suffered all sort of damages (p. 53). His experience was rather dramatic, and the spectators usually laughed because they thought they had to, yet only the intelligent audience understood the real value of the film (p. 53). Actors such as Robert Philips and Genevieve Page were considered by Obregon, intelligent interpreters who granted the film the correct tone. Obregon concluded his review by mentioning

³⁶ "[...] *Decline and Fall* es caída, decadencia hasta el final. Algo así como el "descenso en barrena" para que sea más gráfico, pero nunca tomarlo a broma, porque el humor inglés es sumamente serio" (Obregon, 1969, p. 53).

that there were still a lot of great novels, which were not “laughing novels” that could be adapted to films (p. 53).

In 1972, Alvaro de Fontes published in *ABC* an interview with the writer Eduardo Garrigues entitled “Dialogo con Eduardo Garrigues” (“A Dialog with Eduardo Garrigues”). Garrigues was not only a writer, but also a diplomat and an active collaborator with newspapers and magazines such as *ABC*, *Ya*, *N.D.*, and *Estafeta literaria*. He had also published novels and short stories, as for instance *El canto del urogallo*, *Lecciones de tinieblas* and *Cuentos griegos* (p. 74). When Garrigues was asked if he kept up with the literary currents, he answered that he was passionate about Evelyn Waugh. Garrigues believed that Waugh’s “destructive irony changed the Victorian society more than the vehement speeches of Labourers; “that seemed to me the noblest role of a writer” (p. 74)³⁷. Some of Waugh’s novels that Garrigues enjoyed were included in the collection *Novelas escogidas*, which had been published in 1966: *Decline and Fall*, *Scoop*, *Brideshead Revisited* and *A Handful of Dust*. Garrigues concluded that Waugh was one of the greatest authors, and he refused to name any other contemporary writer, as he believed that one hundred years had to pass to be able to identify the best writer (p. 74).

Spanish critics were accurate in their analysis of Waugh’s novels, as they could identify both the positive and negative abilities of Waugh, which may influence censors’ response to his works. Thus, on the one hand, most of them,

³⁷ “Me apasiona el estilo de Evelyn Waugh, que con su ironía demoledora cambió más la sociedad victoriana que los vehementes discursos de los laboristas; esa me parece la función más noble de un escritor”.

for instance Aguirre de Cárcer (1948), Souviron (1958), Osete (1961), Álvarez (1963) and Garrigues (1972) agreed that Waugh was a talented writer with a creative imagination and lexical richness who writes with elegance and flexibility. They also believed, that Waugh was a humourist and a sharp satirist who criticised the follies of contemporary society employing both a festive satire and a grotesque seriousness. Most of these critics seemed to appreciate Waugh, particularly Cándido (1966) who declared that Waugh's death deeply hurt him. Considering that Waugh was contemplated as a talented novelist and a humourist, the censors may positively assess those satires that cause laughter, such as *Decline and Fall*, *Black Mischief* and *Scoop*. Critics, like Aguirre de Cárcer (1948), Álvarez (1959) or Osete (1966) mentioned that Waugh believed in Christian values, and in his most serious novels, he addressed the matter of the Catholic religion, as the only solution to the intellectual decay of post-war society. Being considered by the critics a defender of the Catholic religion, the Spanish censors may also authorize those novels where Catholic religion plays an important role, such as in *Brideshead Revisited* or *Helena*. Nonetheless, on the other hand, critics did not approve Waugh's work entirely, as they identified faults that censors may judge as inappropriate. For instance, Aguirre de Cárcer (1948) believed that in *Scott-King's Modern Europe*, Waugh criticised ideologies and policies that he should have valued. Álvarez (1959) considered that in *The Loved One*, Waugh raised his irony to such levels that the novel instead of being enlightening was polemical. Osete (1961) and Garrigues (1972) also thought that Waugh was too polemical, too exaggerated and a snob. Therefore, if censors would focus on critics' arguments, they may not approve those novels assessed

by critics as offensive and polemical. However, the censorship files will clarify the censors' reception of Waugh in Spain.

3.3 Waugh's Critical Reception in Communist Romania

In Romania, during the communist period (1948-1989), Waugh's critical reception was not as extensive as in Franco's Spain. The most representative scholars who analysed Waugh's writings were Virgil Nemoianu (1968), Monica Botez (1988) and Silviu Iosifescu (1988). In 1968, Virgil Nemoianu published the prologue of the novel *Decline and Fall* translated in Romanian as *Declin și prăbușire* (1968) by Petre Solomon. The prologue was entitled "Negație și afirmație la Evelyn Waugh" ("Negation and Affirmation of Evelyn Waugh") and it was divided in six sections.

In the first section, entitled "Catolicismul englez" ("The English Catholicism"), Nemoianu (1968) focused on the role of the English Catholic writer. Historically, the English Catholic writer occupied a special position, which was different from the position of other writers from other countries, mainly Mediterranean ones (p. 7). This special position was determined by two factors: on the one hand, by his origin rooted in the Anglo-Saxon Puritan and pragmatic Protestantism, and, on the other hand, by a historical matter, as since the Elizabethan period, the Catholic writer belonged to a narrow minority that had always been persecuted (p. 7). The Catholic writer adopted two types of attitudes. First, he focused on the real, lasting and secret values of the heart, considering the inner visions, as John Henry Newman, Gerard Manley Hopkins and other prominent writers used to do. Second, the writer was concerned with the exterior without ignoring the reality and adopting a satirical attitude like John Dryden and Alexander Pope. In the twentieth century, Gilbert Keith Chesterton and Graham Greene could unify these

two attitudes, whereas Evelyn Waugh brilliantly continued the line of the greatest English satirists (p. 8).

In the section “Imaginea și poziția lui Waugh” (“The Image and Position of Waugh”), Nemoianu referred to Waugh’s problematic character, which after the war became more eccentric, capricious and unpredictable because of his contempt for stupidity and physical pain (p. 9). Nemoianu noted that Frances Donaldson believed that Waugh liked smart intellectuals as well as the smarter of the intellectuals, mainly because these people used to accept him, since no one else did (p. 9). According to Nemoianu, Waugh’s literary evolution could be understood, on the one hand, as a gradual change in the connection between the affirmation of values and the satirical negation, and, on the other, as a struggle to change this connection (p. 9). This struggle can be traced in Waugh’s main works, such as his three biographies and travel books. Nemoianu (1968) stated that Waugh’s travel books were interesting because of “his mastery, his sharp eye and precise formula that delights the reader” (p. 10). In these books, Waugh’s ideological progress passed “from the superior and malicious *dandy* regarding the disgusting aborigines, and false humanism with inclinations towards filo-colonialism and filo-mussolinism, to a more relaxed and correct attitude presented in the last volume, where the *apartheid* is rejected, and the *man* is accepted under any rebarbative appearance” (p. 10).

The third section of Nemoianu’s prologue, “Societatea descompusă” (“The Decomposed Society”), focused on Waugh’s satirical novels: *Decline and Fall*, *Vile Bodies*, *Black Mischief*, *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop* and *Put out More Flags*. In these novels, the world was dominated by boredom and frenzy. The atmosphere

of decay, poverty, restlessness, sterile madness and sensuality was also depicted by Aldous Huxley, Anthony Powell and T.S. Eliot (pp. 11-12). The main characters were only toys in the hands of destiny, such as for instance Adam Symes in *Vile Bodies* who “floated without any weapon and compass in the margins of society” (p. 13). Adam and his fiancée Nina, as well as other heroes, such as Pennyfeather, William Boot and Tony Last, were put into contrast with the real world. They were presented like groping, amazed, ironic, frustrated and isolated characters who were not able to find a purpose and establish order in their lives (pp. 13-14). Regarding these characters, Nemoianu stated that Kingsley Amis considered Waugh and Huxley the main representatives of the English post-war novel, since they could combine the violent and absurd elements, the grotesque and romantic aspects as well as farce and horror (p. 14).

In the fourth section of the prologue entitled “Universul apocalyptic” (“The Apocalyptic Universe”), Nemoianu discussed the nightmare and the apocalyptic aspects enclosed in Waugh’s novels. The scholar noticed that “the horror and the tragedy were spread in a thin veil over all Waugh’s work; a tragic conflict was never reached, yet, suddenly, a situation of nightmare arose. The comedy transformed into a mortal seriousness” (p. 15). According to Nemoianu, anger was more than sterile, as it turned back to chaos and anarchy, as represented in *Black Mischief* by the couple Seth and Basil Seal who tried to implement in Azania a modernization plan, which only destroyed the old forms without providing new ones (p. 15). This modernization plan or “the aggressive sterility” that Seth and Basil wanted to impose was defeated by an unconscious primary tradition (p. 15). “A nightmare situation” was that of Tony Last in *A Handful of Dust*, as he was

trapped in a jungle and taken by a mad man who forced him to read Dickens in loud voice. Nemoianu considered that Waugh's adversity was oriented toward chaos and anarchy, and the "solution" that Waugh offered was so vague and thin that could barely keep the action together, mainly in *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies* (p. 16).

The fifth section, "Speranța vagă" ("The Vague Hope"), analysed the second half of Waugh's literary career that according to Nemoianu was more positive. The turning point was *Brideshead Revisited* and the trilogy *Sword of Honour*. Nemoianu observed that Waugh's satire in the trilogy and in other shorter works, betrayed Waugh's anti-communist mentality, which was typical of the interwar period (p. 17). Nonetheless, Nemoianu adverted that this anti-communist mentality was not the basic characteristic of Waugh's novels. The main characteristics that defined Waugh's novels divided in two categories: those characteristics that defined the human and aesthetic ideal (*Brideshead Revisited* and *Helena*), and those characteristics which revealed Waugh's clear and comprehensive vision (the trilogy and *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*) (p. 18). Nemoianu noted that Waugh displayed more generosity, kindness and understanding, which made his works become fundamentally humanistic (p. 20).

The last section of Nemoianu's prologue entitled "Numai un tehnician merituos?" ("Only a Worthy Technician?") drew the final conclusions regarding Waugh's literary career. Nemoianu stated that there was still much to say about Waugh's brilliant work and his admirable humoristic technique, his control of the language, or the fidelity and realism of his grotesque characters. Nonetheless, Nemoianu preferred to close this section by mentioning that the "minimal

conclusion” that could be drawn was provided by Waugh himself in *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*:

It may happen in the next hundred years that the English novelists of the present day will come to be valued as we now value the artists and craftsmen of the late eighteenth century. The originators, the exuberant men, are extinct and in their place, subsists and modestly flourishes a generation notable for elegance and variety of contrivance. (As cited in Nemoianu, p. 20)

In the volume *Postwar English Literature*, edited by Mihai Miroiu in 1988, professor Monica Botez published a chapter about Evelyn Waugh entitled “Evelyn Waugh: The Universe of his Novels”. Botez considered that Waugh emerged as one of the greatest satirists of the twentieth century. His reputation was primarily given by his early novels, such as *Decline and Fall*, *Vile Bodies*, *Black Mischief* and *A Handful of Dust*. Botez stated that these works depicted a society of irrevocable and appalling futility where moral values had collapsed or become useless, and she compared Waugh with Jonathan Swift, as he employed the same ruthless satire (p. 33).

Botez claimed that Waugh’s early novels represented a merciless comedy which reduced its characters to cartoons, whose suffering and disgrace would not impress the reader: “a pitiless comedy and satire which operates such a simplification of characters as to reduce them to bidimensional cartoons whose

appalling fate cannot consequently impress us with their suffering" (p. 34). As characters were reduced to cartoons, the reader would feel no sorrow for the death of Mr. Prendergast and little Lord Tangent in *Decline and Fall*, Agatha Ranoible in *Vile Bodies*, Prudence Courtney in *Black Mischief* and Aimée Thanatogenos in *The Loved One*. These characters were reduced to such a "manageable abstractions" that could not be observed as real people (p. 35). In Waugh's first novels, satire was directed at traditional British institutions such as the public school, the press, London's high society, British politicians, British diplomats, the empire, the attitude to death as presented in *The Loved One* and also the heroic stand and military life described in the trilogy *Sword of Honour* (p. 35).

Regarding the novella *Scott-King's Modern Europe*, Botez pointed out that professor Scott-King should be placed alongside the "quiet-loving" Pennyfeather and William Boot who although fond of their retired obscurity, had to manage within the huge mechanism of modernization - governments, newspapers and high-life - that served them for momentary purposes, and subsequently could be dropped by them without any regrets (p. 44). Dennis Barlow, the English secretary of the Happy Hunting Grounds (the cemetery for animals, a satiric imitation of the human cemetery in *The Loved One*) and Miss Aimée Thanatogenos, the cosmetician of the Whispering Glades cemetery, were situated by Botez in the group of the "brilliantly stylised characters of Waugh's early creation" (p. 45). Botez stated that beneath the brilliant and grim comedy of Waugh's early novels, the author was serious, "even at his most serious" (p. 45).

Botez also focused on *Brideshead Revisited*, and she stated that the novel lacked Waugh's humour and satire employed in the first works. The novel depicted the pre-war life at Oxford where Charles Ryder, the protagonist, spent his college days alongside his best friend Sebastian Flyte and fell in love with Sebastian's sister, Julia. The basic theme of the novel was represented by the influence of the Catholic Church over the characters, most explicitly underlined in the death scene of Lord Marchmain, who initially rejected the presence of the priest and then accepted it. Botez stated that this scene brought to Waugh the accusation of sentimentalism from the critic Frederick Robert Karl (p. 46).

Regarding the *Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*, Botez considered it an autobiography, in which Waugh was "far from wallowing in self-pity, but on the contrary, sets out to render this extremely subjective experience with humorous detachment and an objectiveness enhanced by the selective omniscience of the narrative" (p. 46). Botez noticed that Waugh could not find any solution to the society he so dreadfully satirised, probably because Waugh, just like his novel's heroes, belonged to a class that had been historically deprived of its rural class and political initiative (p. 47). The only solution that Waugh could provide in his novels was individual and passive: withdrawal into a private and rural retreat and do the creative work of an artist; to this, Waugh added the fundamental support of the Catholic faith (Botez, 1988, p. 47).

According to Botez, the trilogy *The Sword of Honour* represented Waugh's "effort to come to terms with the surrounding world" (p. 47). The futile and glamorous society of earlier novels was represented in the trilogy by Virginia, the wife of the main character, Guy Crouchback. The last volume of the trilogy,

Unconditional Surrender “evoked the nihilistic pointlessness of Waugh’s contemporary society, and for him the only means of survival was the individual moral strength and wish to do private good even though he may appear foolish or ridiculous to others” (p. 49). As Waugh, Guy could not see any social solution. Botez observed that Guy correctly diagnosed the corrupt society where privilege was probably the basic source of evil (p. 49). Botez accused Crouchback of not being able to recognize the heroism of the Allied Forces that saved the world from the Nazis. She also stated that even though Waugh’s trilogy was highly assessed, English critics were still expecting a great book that would depict the heroic efforts of the war:

On the other hand, his dissolution and bitterness prevent him from seeing the actual heroism that led to the final victory from the Allied Forces. From reading Waugh’s trilogy, we can hardly understand how the war against the Nazis was ever won. This truncated vision explains why, although Waugh’s trilogy was highly appreciated, English critics are still expecting a book as great as the heroic efforts of those times. (p. 49)

Botez concluded the article by mentioning that Waugh’s values had a Christian humanist stand oriented against the background of the contemporary society, and his work comprised a specific therapy: laughter (p. 50).

In 1988, the literary critic Silviu Iosifescu published *Trepte, (Steps)* a book dedicated to Diderot, Camil Petrescu, Evelyn Waugh, Thibaudet, Tudor Vianu

and Radu Petrescu. The chapter dedicated to Waugh was divided into two sections: an untitled biographical section where Waugh was presented to the reader, and a second section entitled “Symbiosis” where Iosifescu focused on Waugh’s novels.

In the biographical section, Iosifescu concentrated more on the novelist’s faults than on his virtues. The critic claimed that Waugh was not well known in Romania and, for this reason, a biography had to be presented. Iosifescu enumerated Waugh’s works and also referred to Waugh’s father, the editor of Chapman and Hall, as well as to his brother, Alec, who, at the time Waugh initiated his writing career, was already an important figure. The critic did not fail to mention Waugh’s unsuccessful marriage with Evelyn Gardner, his tentative of suicide and his conversion to Catholicism in 1930 (p. 31). Iosifescu claimed that Waugh decided to commit suicide because his wife Evelyn betrayed and left him (p. 31). Nonetheless, the critic was misinformed, as Waugh’s suicide tentative was not caused by his wife, but by the fact that he could not find a better job after abandoning Oxford and for his lack of success as a writer. He wrote a book hoping to publish, but when mocked by his long-life friend Harold Acton, Waugh threw the manuscript in the furnace of Arnold House, a public school where he worked as a teacher. All these events took place before his marriage with Evelyn Gardner³⁸.

³⁸ For more details regarding Waugh’s tentative of suicide see David Lebedoff (2008, p. 50) *The Same Man, George Orwell and Evelyn Waugh in Love and War*.

Iosifescu considered that Waugh, who in the 1920s used to live like one of the youths of the “lost generation” became “a grouchy, ultraconservative and xenophobic aristocrat” (p. 32). The critic explained that Waugh’s taste for drink unfavourably mingled with tranquilizers caused a psychotic outbreak, obsessions as well as visual and additive hallucinations that Waugh reproduced in the novel *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* (p. 32). Iosifescu thought that this novel was more interesting from a clinical rather than a literary point of view (p. 32). The critic saw Waugh as an irritating person who tempted to offend all the people around him, mainly the insecure ones, those who belonged to an inferior class and the youths (p.35). He pointed out that Waugh also tended to be mean with those who belonged to a superior social class, like Randolph Churchill who was his friend and also his commanding officer during the Second World War. One evening, when Churchill asked Waugh about his opinion regarding the biography dedicated to his father, Winston Churchill, entitled *Life of Marlborough*, Waugh replied:

“As history,” Evelyn replied with unattractive vigour, “it is beneath contempt, the special pleading of a defence lawyer. As literature, it is worthless. It is written in a sham Augustan prose which could only have been achieved by a man who thought always in terms of public speech....” Randolph...remarked angrily to me: “Have you ever noticed that it is always the people who are most religious who are most mean and cruel?” ...Evelyn replied, not only without rancour but almost with vivacity: “But my

dear Randolph, you have no idea what I should be like if I wasn't. (As cited in Lebedoff, 2008, p. 135)³⁹

Regarding Waugh's diaries and letters, Iosifescu considered them unsatisfactory, being difficult to identify the reliable observer and novelist that Waugh was. His letters lacked the original perception as well as the emotional and stylistic register that Waugh used to employ in his novels (pp. 37-38). According to Iosifescu, these faults in Waugh's diaries and letters could be owed to his "narrowness and platitude" (p. 38). The critic remarked that Waugh's letters revealed some insignificant intrigues of literary life and, also, his passion for cabaret dances (p. 38). The critic pointed out that Waugh's letters to Nancy Mitford and Mary Lygon sound like as the gossips presented in *A Handful of Dust*, which led Brenda Last to the romantic relationship with John Beaver (p. 38). Iosifescu had not failed to underline the fact that even though Waugh travelled to many countries, he was not able to master any foreign language; for instance, his French had serious errors, as his letter to Mary Lygon proved (p. 38). Iosifescu mentioned that the French characters in Waugh's novels spoke the same French as Waugh (p. 38). The critic highlighted that French could be learned if one was an autodidact, like the Romanian satirist Ion Luca Caragiale who spoke excellent French (p. 38).

³⁹ The conversation between Waugh and Churchill was also presented by Iosifescu (1988), but Lebedoff (2008) provided the whole dialog in his work *The Same Man, George Orwell and Evelyn Waugh in Love and War*.

Iosifescu also questioned Waugh's Catholic faith. The critic stated that even though Waugh was a Catholic, "in his diaries, letters and relationships with friends, countless enemies and strangers, he displayed hostility and lacked goodwill and interior peace" (p. 39). The critic claimed that Waugh's biographies on the saint *Edmund Campion* and the priest *Ronald Knox*, as well as his historical novel *Helena*, were not considered notable works, since not even his Catholic friend Christopher Sykes judged them as significant (p. 39). Iosifescu concluded the first section of this chapter by observing that Waugh's biographical data was insufficient, yet it could be learnt that Waugh's snobbism and misanthropy coexisted with his appetite for laughter (p. 41). Finally, the critic mentioned that "Waugh's texts ought to be read for what they offer to the reader, but the man's silhouette risked falsifying the perspective of the reading and infuse to the reader a semi-consciousness hostility" (p. 42).

In the section "Symbiosis", Waugh's faults, highlighted in the biographical section, vanished, and Iosifescu conveyed an accurate analysis of some of Waugh's novels. The critic focused on the "innocent characters" that became victims. One of these innocent characters was Paul Pennyfeather in *Decline and Fall*, who unconsciously tolerated the pressure of incomprehensible events. The critic noted that sometimes innocents became victims, because they were forced to pay others' faults, or they were defeated by hazard. Such characters belong to novels with bitter nuances, which coexist with comical details that were rarely absent in Waugh's novels (p. 44). A novel with bitter nuances, but still with a comical effect was *A Handful of Dust*. According to Iosifescu, in the novel, Tony Last was as Pennyfeather, an innocent that became the victim of his wife Brenda,

who betrayed him. Iosifescu described Brenda as a “modern parasite” who was easily conquered by Beaver’s gossips (p. 43). William Boot, the main character of *Scoop* (1933) was another innocent that had fallen victim to events out of his control. Boot, a modest collaborator of one of the most important London newspapers, was mistaken with the famous writer William Boot, and sent to report the scoops of the war that broke out in the African country Ishmaelia. Iosifescu observed that, these innocent characters could also be found in the works of Penham Greenville Wodehouse, whom Waugh greatly appreciated (p. 45).

In the novel *The Loved One*, Iosifescu (1988) noticed that in the cemetery “Whispering Glades” the funeral was treated as a “trade with feelings”, where the dead called “the loved ones” were embalmed, had make up put on them, rejuvenated and illuminated (p. 49). The graves were distributed according to their prices, and sometimes the owners purchased these graves while they were still alive. Iosifescu stated that the main point of the novel was the kitsch and all the characters that approved it, the kitsch being understood in the broadest sense: objects manufacturing, feelings and gestures (p. 49). The name of the cosmetician Aimée completed the pejorative atmosphere with its French allusions to love and death (p. 50).

Iosifescu also discussed Waugh’s most famous novel *Brideshead Revisited*. The critic considered that the theme and the stylistic register, as well as the critical reception, conferred this novel a singular place in Waugh’s work (p. 60). Regarding the critical reception, Iosifescu remarked that the novel was severely criticised firstly by the American critic Edmund Wilson, who also criticised *The Loved One*, and secondly by Christopher Sykes who accused

Waugh of sentimentalism and excessive use of metaphors (p. 60). Iosifescu defended Waugh against Sykes's accusation of using an excessive number of metaphors, as even though Waugh was not very generous with metaphors in his earlier works, he had to employ some figures of speech in *Brideshead Revisited* to evoke the youth and the nights spent at Oxford (p. 61). Iosifescu concluded that the employment of metaphors and comparisons had seldom given the impression of excessive, and Sykes's accusation of sentimentalism was improper (p. 61).

Iosifescu briefly summarized *Brideshead Revisited* focusing on the love story of Charles Ryder and Julia Flyte, which the Romanian critic found pale. He mentioned that when Charles met Julia, he only saw an "uninteresting standard young woman, who was not interested in anyone else" (p. 63). Julia remained colourless from a literary point of view in contrast with the vitality of other characters such as her brother Sebastian, who was lost in his childhood and in his alcoholism, her sister Cordelia or her husband Rex Mottram who was a successful politician. Even Julia's mother, Lady Marchmain proved to be more colourful with her clumsy benevolence that allowed her to intercede in the lives of the loved ones and sometimes destroy them (p. 63). Iosifescu suggested that the novelty of *Brideshead Revisited* consisted in the fresh pages and the low voice that evoked the college years of the narrator, which granted *Brideshead Revisited* "a new harmonic of nostalgia and reverie absent in other works" (p. 64). Iosifescu also referred to the reception of Waugh by Romanian readers, and he concluded that they were habituated to "extravagant adventures" and to "puppets

transformed in characters”, thus the Romanian readers would favourably accept Evelyn Waugh (p. 53).

The reception of Waugh’s work by the Romanian critics during the communist regime could be considered both positive and negative. The Romanian critics, like the Spanish, considered Waugh a serious humourist and compared his satire with that of Jonathan Swift. In most of the cases, critics provided summaries of Waugh’s works, and supported their statements by citing English critics. They praised some of Waugh’s novels like *Brideshead Revisited* and dispraised others like *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*, which was considered interesting only from a clinical point of view. Romanian critics found many faults in Waugh’s personality, accusing him of being ultraconservative and suffering from snobbery, misanthropy and xenophobia. Iosifescu (1988) for instance, considered Waugh’s diaries and letters unsatisfactory, and Botez (1988) thought that Waugh’s war novels could have been better. In general terms, it could be stated that Romanian critics recognised the fact that Waugh was one of the best satirists, but they disliked his character and disapproved of many of his works.

Considering the response of the Romanian critics to Waugh’s work, it is difficult to foresee the reaction of censors to Waugh. Nemoianu (1968), for instance, mentioned a series of factors that would negatively influence Waugh’s reception. The critic stated that in the trilogy *Sword of Honour*, Waugh displayed his anti-communist mentality, and Waugh’s adversity was oriented towards chaos and anarchy. An anti-communist mentality as well as anarchy would never be approved by the communist censor. Both Nemoianu and Botez believed that Waugh was a Catholic writer, fact that censors would disapprove. However,

Iosifescu (1988), believed that *Brideshead Revisited* may be positively received by the Romanian readers, as they were already habituated to extravagant adventures and with characters being transformed into puppets. Therefore, readers would enjoy reading *Brideshead Revisited* if the censors decided so. Their answer to Waugh's work can be found in the censorship files and in the registration cards kept by the Library of the Romanian Academy.

4 WAUGH'S NOVELS UNDER THE SPANISH CENSORSHIP SYSTEM

4.1 *A Handful of Dust*

*A Handful of Dust*⁴⁰ was published in 1934 and studied “other sort of savage at home and the civilized man’s helpless plight among them” as Waugh declared in the article “Fun-Fare” published in *Life* in 1946. Heath (1982) pointed out that if *Black Mischief* focused on general aspects of barbarism, *A Handful of Dust* studied a specific aspect of polite barbarism: the failure of marital relations in England (p. 104). In this novel, Waugh expressed his resentment at Evelyn Gardner’s infidelity, and in the person of Tony Last, Waugh criticised himself for being so naïve and tolerant (Heath, 1982, p. 104). Tony Last lived with his wife Brenda and his son John Andrew in the “formerly one of the notable houses of the county”, Hetton Abbey (Waugh, 2012, p. 36). Brenda detested the house and travelled often to London where she met her lover John Beaver. Her happiness did not last for long, as her son, John Andrew, died. The grief of Andrew’s death and Brenda’s infidelity led Tony to the Amazonas where he was retained by Mr. Todd, an illiterate man who forced Tony to constantly read Dickens aloud. He could never escape from the Amazonas for Mr. Todd refused to help him. In England, Brenda’s relationship with Beaver came to an end, and she remarried with Tony’s friend Jock Grant-Menzies. Eventually, Tony was officially declared

⁴⁰ The sequence of analysis of Waugh’s novels was established by the order in which the novels were submitted to censorship.

dead, as the monolith of local stone inscribed: “Anthony Last of Hetton Explorer Born at Hetton, 1902, died in Brazil, 1934” (p. 257).

As mentioned in the section 3.1 of chapter 3, *A Handful of Dust* was fiercely criticised by the Catholic editor Ernest Oldmeadow. In a review published in *The Tablet*, Oldmeadow hoped that Waugh, after producing a “sequel which gave pain to Catholics”, would change his style, yet he had not done so (Oldmeadow, 1934, p. 300). Nonetheless, the editor affirmed that *A Handful of Dust* had not comprised the “gross indecency and irreverence” which made *Black Mischief* “abominable” (p. 300). Oldmeadow believed that *A Handful of Dust* was not a good piece of satire, and Tony’s struggle to eliberate himself from Mr. Todd, the man who kept him prisoner in a tropical forest and forced him to read Dickens every day, was considered by the editor one of the cruellest scenes ever written by a novelist (p. 300). Oldmeadow suggested that Waugh should refrain from printing despicable books of which the novelist controlled the copyright (p. 300).

In Spain, *A Handful of Dust* passed through the censorship department on 8 March 1943, and in 1944 the novel was already considered a best-seller at the National Book Fair celebrated in Madrid. The publishing house Aymá presented the novel to censorship in order to obtain authorization for the publishing of 2,000 copies translated into Spanish as *Un puñado de polvo* by P. J. Eastaway in 1943. The censor’s report on the novel revealed that *A Handful of Dust* had not enclosed any political insinuations and it had “sufficient” artistic and literary value. The section of the report entitled “Other Observations” included a summary of the novel, which did not mention the infidelity of Brenda and her son’s death. It only focused on Tony’s contempt for the false social life in London as well as on the

hypocritical and brutal habits of society, which forced Tony to travel to the primitive society of the forests and rivers of Brazil⁴¹. The censor authorized the publishing of *A Handful of Dust* on 23 March 1943.

In 1957, the publishing house Hispanoamericana requested authorization to import from Buenos Aires a translation of the novel into *Un puñado de polvo* by Josefina Gaínza published by Emecé. The censor's report stated that the novel presented "the classical triangle accompanied by tea, cookies and the boredom of the London's clubs. Ah! The husband escaped to Africa to be eaten by lions, so that she could remarry afterward. The novel could be authorised" (File 546/57)⁴². This translation was authorised on 23 February 1957, and 250 copies were distributed.

In 1964, *A Handful of Dust* was presented to censorship by the publishing house Aguilar in order to obtain authorization to introduce the novel in the collection *Obras Escogidas*⁴³. This collection had already been submitted to

⁴¹ File 1641/43: "Otras observaciones: novela en la que se relata la vida de un hombre que haziado de la falsa vida social y costumbres hipócritas y brutales de la sociedad londinense se evade de su círculo e intenta rehacer una vida más libre y completa en la sociedad primitiva de los bosques y ríos del interior del Brasil, apenas penetrados por la civilización. Allí topa con toda clase de aventureros, cuyos tipos describe con finura y penetración psicológica, llenando la descripción de este ambiente toda la última parte del libro".

⁴² File 546/57: "El clásico triangulito, pero con té, pastas y el aburrimiento londinense de los clubs. ¡Ah! y una escapada del marido a Africa, para que se lo comiera los leones y se pudiera casar ella después. Procede su autorización".

⁴³ In December 1962, the collection *Obras Escogidas* had initially comprised translations of *Decline and Fall* (*Decadencia y caída*), *Scoop* (*Primicia*), *Brideshead Revisited* (*Retorno a Brideshead*), *Put Out More Flags* (*¡Más banderas!*) and *Helena* (*Elena*). On February 1964, *Black Mischief* (*Barrabasada negra*) and *A Handful of Dust* (*Un puñado de polvo*) were added to *Obras Escogidas*. See the censorship file 6545/62 of the box 21/14290.

censorship in 1962, nonetheless, in 1964, Aguilar intended to also add *A Handful of Dust* and *Black Mischief*. The censor considered that *A Handful of Dust* translated *Un puñado de polvo* by Juan Gómez Casas had not censurable passages that could disqualify the novel, thus it could be authorised. In his report, the censor concluded that the novel narrated “the English habits based on an inconsequential matrimonial conflict” (File 6545/62)⁴⁴. The novel was not published in 1964 in the collection *Obras escogidas*, but in 1966 in the collection *Novelas escogidas*. In 1967, Aguilar presented to the censorship department the deposit of the collection *Novelas escogidas*⁴⁵, which included also *A Handful of Dust*. The collection was positively assessed by the censor, who mentioned that “all the titles of the well-known English humourist can be authorised (File 61/67). The report of antecedents of the file 61/67 reveals that *Un puñado de polvo* was registered in the file 51/64, nonetheless, this file could not be located. This section also states that *A Handful of Dust* and *Scoop* were authorised with erasure when included in the collection *Obras escogidas* in 1964 and 1962. However, the censors could not clarify to what novel this erasure belonged (File 61/67)⁴⁶. The boxes 21/14290 and 21/17818, where the files of *Obras escogidas* and *Novelas escogidas* were guarded, do not include a report with the erasure that the censors

⁴⁴ “En *Un puñado de polvo* se relata tipos y costumbres inglesas a base de un conflicto matrimonial intranscendente. Puede autorizarse”.

⁴⁵ The collection *Novelas escogidas* included *Decline and Fall*, *Black Mischief*, *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop* and *Brideshead Revisited*.

⁴⁶ File 61/67 states that *A Handful of Dust* and *Scoop* were authorized with erasure in 1962 and 1964 in the collection *Obras escogidas*: “Autorizadas en *Obras escogidas*. La tachadura no se sabe a cuál corresponde.”

were referring to. Even though, the collection *Obras escogidas* was not published, the collection *Novelas escogidas* proved to be successful, as 10,000 copies were sold (File 61/67).

In 1972, the publishing house Alianza presented to voluntary consultation the Argentinian translation of *A Handful of Dust* into *Un puñado de polvo* by Josefina Gaínza. Alianza included the translation in the collection "Paperback" and intended to publish 15,000 copies at 90 pesetas. The novel was not considered a threat for the Francoist regime, and the censor authorized its distribution. The censor highlighted that Waugh was a classic of the twentieth century, and his critical and humorous work displayed wittiness, humour and critical sense (File 14508/72). He also considered that *A Handful of Dust* was Waugh's masterpiece, and lamented "the detestable" Argentinian translation that Alianza pretended to publish (File 14508/72)⁴⁷.

The censorship files that analysed *A Handful of Dust* disclosed a positive reception in Spain, even though the basic theme of the novel was the failure of marriage caused by infidelity. Brenda's infidelity and bigamy as she was married both with Tony and his friend Jock Grant-Menzies, were not considered immoral by the Spanish Catholic censors. Probably, they believed that such immoralities

⁴⁷ "Evelyn Waugh es ya, al poco tiempo de su muerte, uno de los novelistas ingleses clásicos de este siglo. Su obra literaria se puede situar plenamente dentro de la línea crítico - humorística muy querida de los ingleses, en que es preciso derrochar ingenio y buen humor a la vez que agudeza observativa y sentido crítico. Todo esto lo tiene Waugh, y de modo especial en esta novela, *Un puñado de polvo*, considerada su obra maestra. Lástima que la traducción argentina que publica Alianza sea detestable. Nada que objetar. Puede aceptar el depósito".

would only be possible in England, and the Spanish readers would find them comical.

4.2 *Black Mischief*

The novel *Black Mischief* was published in 1932 by Chapman and Hall. The action developed in the fictitious country Azania, first occupied by cannibals, then Christian Portuguese, Arabs and a sequence of native rulers. The first of these rulers was Amurath, who became the emperor of Azania and whose daughter ordered the kidnaping of the legal heir, Achon, with the aim of ensuring the crown to her son, Seyid. Seyid never reached the crown, as he was killed and eaten by the army of his son Seth, who entitled himself “The Emperor of Azania, Chief of the Chiefs of Sakuyu, Lord of Wanda and Tyrant of the Seas, Bachelor of the Arts of Oxford University” (Waugh, 1965, p. 7). Seth was determined to civilize the savage Azania through the foundation of the Ministry of Modernization led by the British Basil Seal. Modernization meant the application of European habits, such as the implementation of Swedish physical exercises that the community had to practice in order to avoid illnesses like cholera, bubonic plague and leprosy (p. 142). Connolly’s soldiers had to be equipped with boots like the soldiers of modern countries. Other modernization measures that the Ministry meant to implement included birth control and the education of people in sterility through Soviet propaganda. The Emperor also planned to abolish “death penalty, marriage, the Sakuyu language and all native dialects, infant mortality, inhuman

butchery, mortgages, emigration” (p. 148). All these initiatives culminated in the printing of three million counterfeit pounds.

Emperor Seth as well as all the participants of the implementation of the modernization programme, such as the British Basil Seal alongside the British diplomat Sir Samson Courteney and the French envoy M. Ballon were called by Heath (1982) the “progressives” (p. 94). Heath stated that Waugh had certain fun at the expense of the Wanda and Sakuyu tribes, but the real objects of his ridicule were “the so-called progressives who tried to improve the human condition while ignoring the essential barbarism and waywardness of the human nature” (p. 94). These progressives vainly struggled to redeem barbarism, which perverted the progress imposed (pp. 95-96). Savagery manifested its climax when at Emperor Seth’s funeral, Basil Seal had eaten Prudence, Sir Courtney’s daughter.

As mentioned in the section 3.1 of chapter 3 of this research, the editor of the Catholic journal *The Tablet*, Ernest Oldmeadow, considered the novel “scandalous” as well as a “disgrace to anybody professing the Catholic name” (Oldmeadow, 1933, p. 214). The editor also found offensive the cannibalism scene and Prudence’s relationship with Basil Seal:

Prudence, daughter of the British Minister at the Emperor's court, goes up to the unsavoury room (the soapy water unemptied) of Basil, a man she hardly knows, and, after saying ‘You might have shaved’ and ‘Please help with my boots’, stays till there is ‘a banging on the door.’ In the end, Basil,

at a cannibal feast, unwittingly helps to eat the body of Prudence 'stewed to pulp amid peppers and aromatic roots.' In working out this foul invention, Mr. Waugh gives us disgusting passages. (As cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 133)

The editor seemed to have analysed the novel superficially, as Waugh's purpose was not to explore all the "ills" and "barbarism" of Azania, but rather employ "all deplorable ills and barbarism" in order to display "the conflict of civilization" (Amory, 1980, p. 77). The failure of the process of modernization implemented in the savage Azania by the civilized representatives of the Western countries proved that "a high civilization depended upon a firm sense of hierarchy and design - in short upon right reason" (Heath, 1982, p. 95). The absence of right reason led the savage Azania to barbarism, which reigned in place of the "authentic authority", transforming Azania in "appearance without essence and imitation without substance" (Heath, 1982, p. 95). Heath (1982) asserted that Azania had no spiritual values and it was as "insubstantial as a photograph" (p. 95).

Surprisingly, in Spain, during the Francoist regime, *Black Mischief* was approved by the censors. The novel was submitted to censorship on 30 September 1944 when the publishing house Aymá asked for authorization to translate and publish 3,000 copies of the novel under the Spanish title *Negra diablura*. The censor's report disclosed that the novel had literary and documentary value and it did not attack the morality, the dogma or the Francoist

institutions. The novel was considered humoristic and a kind of parody of the fictitious Abyssinia: "Humorous novel, a sort of parody and imitation of an imaginary Abyssinia [...]. The comic contrast is achieved precisely through the monarch's mentality and the primitive atmosphere where he is developing his enterprises. It can be authorized" (File 5554/44)⁴⁸. Nonetheless, for unidentified reasons, the edition of 1944 did not reach Spanish readers. The Spanish National Institute of the Book has no registration of this edition, but rather of the edition of 1950. On 21 December 1950, the publishing house José Janés bought the publishing rights from Aymá and the censorship department authorized José Janés to distribute the novel under the title *Fechoría Negra*, valued 45 pesetas. The novel was translated by Rosa S. Naveira and it was included in José Janés's collection "Los escritores de ahora".

In 1964, the publishing house Aguilar solicited permission to include a translation of *Black Mischief* into *Barrabasada negra* by Juan García Puente in the collection *Obras escogidas*. The report of the censor stated that the novel could be authorised, as Waugh described in a humoristic tone the incidences of an African country and its relationships with the Western culture:

Barrabasada negra describes the 1935 Abyssinia in the author's humorous tone, the various incidents of an African country in its relations

⁴⁸ "Novela humorística, una especie de parodia y trasunto de una Abisinia imaginaria...El contraste cómico se consigue precisamente por el que existe entre la mentalidad del Monarca y la atmosfera primitiva en que tiene que desenvolver sus iniciativas. Puede autorizarse".

with the West, the dethronement of the emperor and his "court" etc. as well as its replacement. It could be authorized⁴⁹. (File 6545/62)

Barrabasada negra as well as *Un puñado de polvo* were not published in the collection *Obras escogidas* in 1964, but in 1966 in the collection *Novelas escogidas*. As it was mentioned in the previous section, in 1967, Aguilar deposited the collection *Novelas escogidas* which was positively evaluated by the censor, who authorised all the titles already published in 1966 (File 61/67).

Unlike the Catholic editor of *The Tablet*, Ernest Oldmeadow who considered the novel a disgrace for all Catholics, Spanish censors had not found *Black Mischief* threatening to Franco's regime, nor to the Catholic Church. The scene of cannibalism, when Prudence was eaten by her fiancé Basil at the Emperor's funeral, as well as Prudence's amorous relationship with Basil were not considered immoral. Censors found the novel humorous, and it was sold in hundreds.

⁴⁹ *Black Mischief*: "*Barrabasada negra* describe sobre el patrón de la Abisinia del año 35, dentro del tono humorista del autor, las diversas incidencias de un país africano en relaciones con los occidentales, el destronamiento de un emperador, su corte, etc. y su reposición. Puede autorizarse".

4.3 Scoop

A novel about journalists, *Scoop* was first published in 1933 by Chapman and Hall, and it was inspired on Waugh's trip to Abyssinia to cover the Italo-Abyssinian war for the newspaper *Daily Mail*. Prior to *Scoop*, Waugh had written the travel book *Waugh in Abyssinia*, which complements the novel. In this travel book, Waugh recounted the difficulties in obtaining information about the war in order to telegraph back to the *Daily Mail*. He was forced to rely upon Greek and Levantine spies for information, as he could not achieve a travelling leave to investigate outside of Addis Ababa, the capital city of Abyssinia:

But there was no possibility of leaving the city to investigate. No answer was given to our application for leave to travel. We were obliged to rely on information about what was happening in the interior upon the army of Greek and Levantine spies who frequented Mme Moriatis's bar. Most of these men were pluralists being in the pay not only of several competing journalists at once, but also of the Italian Legation, the Abyssinian secret police, or both. They were equally ignorant, but less scrupulous than ourselves. We could retail their lies, even when we found them most palpable, with the qualification "It is stated in some quarters" or "I was unofficially informed". (Waugh, 1985, p. 83)

This background was the object of mockery in *Scoop*. Waugh criticised the fact that “a potentially serious situation was treated frivolously, sensationally and dishonestly by the assembled Press” (as cited in Heath, 1982, p. 126). The lack of professionalism was underlined from the very beginning when Mr Salter, the editor of the newspaper the *Daily Beast* sent the wrong journalist to Ishmaelia, the fictitious name for Abyssinia. Mr Salter, instead of sending Mr John Courteney Boot, a successful novelist, sent William Boot, a modest journalist already employed by *The Beast* to write articles about “Lush Places”. In Ishmaelia, William met foreign correspondents from many countries like the United States, France, Italy, and learnt that he was competing with all of them. The news had to be sent immediately, on time for the first edition, as “it’s only news until he’s read it. After, that is dead” (Waugh, 2000, p. 66). He made friends with Corker from *Universal News* who taught William the craft of journalism, which basically was limited to find any sort of news because “news was what a chap who doesn’t care much about anything wants to read” (p. 66).

Waugh described Ishmaelia as a State led by the Jackson family from Alabama until the Russians imprisoned them. The Soviet regime was imposed, and Ishmaelia became “The Soviet State of Ishmaelia” (Waugh, 1985, p. 192). The new regime carried out several changes: the original name of the capital, “Jacksonburg” transformed into “Marxville”, the name of “Café Wilberforce” became “Café Lenin”, the city was decorated with red flags and Marxian rules were preached (pp. 192-201). However, the Soviet regime was not successful, as it only ruled Ishmaelia a single day. President Jackson and his family were

released, and the communist regime collapsed: “I think we may be satisfied that the counter-revolution has triumphed” (p. 201).

In Spain, it could be assumed that *Scoop* was not going to be successful, since Waugh criticized the fascists and mentioned aspects related to morality like prostitution and cannibalism supported by the bishop. On the one hand, Waugh accused the fascists of racism when Mr. Salter, the editor of *The Beast*, explained to William Boot who was fighting who in Ishmaelia:

‘I think it’s the Patriots and the Traitors’. ‘Yes, but which is which?’ ‘Oh, I don’t know that. That’s policy, you see. It’s nothing to do with me. You should have asked Lord Copper’. ‘I gather it’s between the Reds and the Blacks’. ‘Yes, but it’s not quite as easy as that. You see, they are all Negroes. And the fascists won’t be called black because of their racial pride, so they are called white’. (Waugh, 1985, p. 54)

On the other hand, Waugh referred to prostitution when William Boot and his friend Corker went to the press bureau and received their identity cards, which were initially some “small orange documents originally printed for the registration of prostitutes” (p. 113). It seemed that the press bureau also functioned as a brothel where prostitutes entertained the Ishmaelites. When introducing the Ishmaelites, Waugh mentioned that they would only eat human flesh with the approval of the bishop: “the better sort of Ishmaelites have been Christian for

many centuries, and would not publically eat human flesh, uncooked, in Lent, without costly dispensation from their bishop” (p. 91).

Nevertheless, the Spanish censors did not encounter these references politically and morally incorrect, and the novel was accepted without problems. In Spain, the first edition of *Scoop* was dated from 1947 and it was submitted to censorship on 31 December. The censorship file contained the request of the Spanish publishing house Hispanoamericana to import from Argentina the novel *Scoop* under the title *Primicia*, translated by Horacio Laurora, a prestigious Argentinian translator. The publishing house intended to import 150 copies valued in 24 pesetas each. This request was attended positively, as the import of the novel was authorized on 3 January 1948. In 1962, the novel was again submitted to censorship alongside other novels like *Decline and Fall*, both were added to the collection *Obras escogidas*, which Aguilar intended to publish. This collection, as mentioned in the previous section, was not finally published in 1962. Later, in 1966 Aguilar published the collection *Novelas escogidas*, which included *Scoop*. The collection *Novelas escogidas* was deposited to the censorship department in 1967, and all the novels were accepted. The censorship file 61/67 reveals that in 1962, *Scoop* might have been authorised with erasure in the collection *Obras escogidas*. The censorship files 6545/62 and 61/67 had not enclosed a report that could clarify to what novel this erasure corresponded, as both *Scoop* and *A Handful of Dust* might have suffered erasures (File 61/67). *Scoop* was probably authorised, on the one hand, because the censor might not have understood Waugh’s satire, since he considered the author “a well-known English humourist” instead of a well-known satirist (File

5538/47). On the other hand, the lack of success of Communism in Ishmaelia might have motivated the censor to authorize the novel

4.4 *Put Out More Flags*

Put Out More Flags was Waugh's first novel about the Second World War published in 1942. Waugh wrote the novel on his way home from Crete where in 1941 the British troops were defeated by the Germans. In the Spanish edition of 2012, the translator Carlos Villar Flor mentioned in the prologue that Waugh contemplated the demoralizing landscape of the Crete campaign and concluded that the British soldiers and the officers acted with incompetence and indignity (2012, p. 11). When the brigade was dissolved, Waugh returned to England on board of ship *Duchess of Richmond* and wrote a draft of *Put Out More Flags*. In a letter written in 1941 to Randolph Churchill, the son of Winston Churchill and Waugh's combat comrade, Waugh announced that he had just ended a novel dedicated to Randolph, but the paper shortage would delay the publishing. Waugh was not right in his prediction, since the novel was published in 1942.

The novel is set in the Phoney War and depicts the evolution of Waugh's once bright young people, who are now confronting to a chaotic reality at the beginning of the Second World War. Thus, characters like Alastair Trumpington, who in *Decline and Fall* was a hopeless student, has transformed into a serious young man who volunteered for the army. Similarly, Peter Pastmaster, the son of Margot Metroland, shows now a sense of responsibility by getting married and

undertaking the military service with the Commandoes. Other characters, such as Ambrose Silk, became a homosexual half-Jewish intellectual, and, also a fugitive when he was accused of writing fascist propaganda. Basil Seal, already known from *Black Mischief*, had little interest in fighting, but rather in earning some money from the war. However, with the intention of killing some Germans, Basil, Alastair and Peter joined a newly formed commando.

In Spain, *Put Out More Flags* (1942) was rejected by the censors, as the censorship report revealed (File 3985/47). On 24 July 1947, E.D.H.A.S.A. (Editora y Distribuidora Hispano Americana) requested authorization to import from Argentina the translation *¡Más Banderas!* with the intention of distributing in Spain three hundred copies priced at 20 pesetas each. On 25 August 1947, the censorship department rejected the importation. Unfortunately, the censors do not mention in their report the reason of their decision. In 1962, the publishing house Aguilar wanted to include the novel in the collection *Obras escogidas* alongside other novels such as *Scoop*, being all submitted to censorship. The censor considered that *¡Más banderas!* judged the generation that lived the Great War and the spirits of the war environment, and he approved the novel (File 6545/62)⁵⁰. Finally, Aguilar had not published this collection. Later, in 1966,

⁵⁰ The report of antecedents of the file 6545/62 states that this novel does not have antecedents recorded. Such statement is confusing, as the novel was revised by censors in 1947, thus it has antecedents.

The censor's report of file 6545/62: "Novela de corte intelectual inglesa, y con esta afirmación puntualizamos que en la novela de Waugh se hace exclusivamente el enjuiciamiento de las generaciones que vivieron la última Gran Guerra, y del espíritu que palparía en el ambiente. Constantemente se entremezclan diálogos, personajes que reflejan el tono y el ambiente del país, y que fluyen de los acontecimientos".

Aguilar published the collection *Novelas escogidas*, however *¡Más banderas!* was not included, even though it was previously approved.

On 15 January 1975, the publishing house Alianza presented the translation of *Put Out More Flags* by Horacio Laurora to voluntary consultation. Alianza included the novel in the collection “Libro de bolsillo” and intended to publish a considerable number of copies, 10,000, priced at 120 pesetas each. The censor provided a detailed review of the novel:

The novel developed its action in the first months of the Second World War, more precisely in England where the aristocratic society suffered the convulsion of the outbreak of the war. With great irony, the author portrayed the void behaviour of these idle men, these unsatisfied and deluded women, these dominant mothers with their Victorian life system, all of them invaded the ranks of the army without any professional effectiveness leaded by inexperienced top officers [...] In order to avoid harsh criticism, the end of the novel revealed a change in thought and behaviour of some of the characters previously mentioned. (File 504/75)⁵¹

⁵¹ The original version of the censor's report on *Put Out More Flags* from the censorship file 504 included the box 73/04584: “Novela que centra su acción en los primeros meses de la Segunda Guerra Mundial, precisamente en Inglaterra donde una sociedad aristocrática sufre la convulsión del estallido de la guerra. Su autor, con una gran ironía refleja el comportamiento vacío de estos hombres viciosos, de estas madres dominantes con su sistema victoriano de vida que, como mero pasatiempo, irrumpen en las filas de un descrito ejército clasista, sin efectividad profesional y mandado, siempre caricaturizado por altos oficiales sin conocimiento alguno. El desenlace de la obra, quizás para evitar las críticas despiadadas, es la modificación del pensamiento y actuación de algunos de los hombres descritos. Presenta en pg. 77 y 206, dos alusiones

The report highlighted that pages 77 and 206 of the translated version entitled *¡Más banderas!* comprised two references to Spain. On page 77, Spain was accused of “atrocities against the left-wing intellectuals” and on page 206 Spain was presented as a country without freedom (File 504/75). The censors concluded that these two paragraphs were not censurables, since the moment when they were written, and their sense did not make them unlawful (File 504/75). Thus, the novel was authorised.

The censor’s positive attitude towards the references to Spain may be justified by the fact that, in 1975, 30 years had already passed since the Second World War had ended, and the censorship system was more permissive. In 1947, two years after the end of the war, the novel was first presented to prior censorship regulated by the law of 1938, the censor refused to authorise it. Nevertheless, it could be assumed that the novel’s political references mentioned on pages 77 and 206 might have contributed to the censor’s rejection.

a España, una acosándola de atrocidades a los intelectuales de izquierda, y la otra una cita como modelo de falta de libertad, pero su momento y su sentido no hace punible estos párrafos. Puede ser aceptada”.

4.5 *Brideshead Revisited*

Brideshead Revisited, Waugh's most famous novel, was first published in 1945 by Chapman and Hall. Waugh wrote the novel while he was on leave from the army during 1944, and he made the final corrections whilst doing his military service in Yugoslavia (Stannard, 1984, p. 54). The main themes debated in the novel were the Catholic religion, drunkenness and adultery. Charles Ryder, an architect painter and an infantry commander during the Second World War, travelled to a new camp in Wiltshire, and found, after a long time, the grounds of Brideshead Castle. Charles nostalgically remembers his past experiences at Brideshead. The castle belonged to the Flyte family whose members were Catholic and "half-pagan", as the poet and translator Henry Reed called them in a review published on 23 June 1945 in *New Statesman* (pp. 408-9). Sebastian Flyte, son of Alexander Flyte, Marquis of Marchmain and Teresa Flyte, became Charles's best friend as well as an alcoholic. One of the causes of Sebastian's addiction was his parents' separation when the first war ended, as Lord Marchmain refused to return to Brideshead. Instead, he went to Venice where he met Cara who accompanied him until his death. Sebastian ended up in a convent where the monks looked after him. Charles was married to Celia and he also fell in love with Julia Flyte, Sebastian's sister. Both Charles and Julia decided to divorce their spouses and marry each other. They divorced, but when Julia's "half-pagan" father was blessed by the priest before he died, Julia decided that she was not going to marry Charles, as she was forced to choose between

Charles and God, and she chose God. Finally, Julia and her younger sister Cordelia enrolled in the Second World War.

As mentioned in the third chapter of this doctoral thesis, *Brideshead Revisited* received considerable negative criticism, mainly from the critic Edmund Wilson who believed that the religious theme in the novel seemed an “exorcistic rite” instead of a “force of regeneration”. Moreover, the novelist J. D. Beresford declared in *Manchester Guardian* that he deeply disliked the novel because Waugh’s main themes were “adultery, perversion and drunkenness” (p. 3). Nonetheless, the journalist and editor John K. Hutchens, in a review published in *New York Times* on 30 December 1945, mentioned that the novel “had a romantic sense of wonder, together with the provocative, personal point of view of a writer who sees life realistically” (pp. 1, 16). Indeed, Waugh saw life realistically, and *Brideshead Revisited* was nothing else than a representation of real problems that people must overcome in life, such as, alcoholism and adultery.

Considering these themes, it could be assumed that in Spain, the novel might not have been successful. On 2 January 1948, Manuel Quedo y Simón requested authorization from the censorship department in order to import the novel from Mexico under the title *Evocación*. This translation by E. T. Lawrence was initially published in 1946 by Albatros. The novel was included in the collection called “for women”, and the Spanish editor intended to distribute 100 copies. The censorship file did not enclose a report written by the censor, yet it revealed that the novel was not authorised (File 210/48).

Some months later, that year, on 20 July E.D.H.A.S.A asked for authorization to import the novel from Buenos Aires translated by Clara Diament into *Retorno a Brideshead*. The publishing house had the intention of distributing 150 copies priced at 36 pesetas each. The censor disliked the novel, nonetheless, he considered that it could be read by people “with an elementary education” (File 3873/48)⁵²:

This is a novel without argument, which seems to be Protestant propaganda. I consider it inadmissible. This novel so awfully translated narrates the eccentricities of a family of English nobles who, in their manner, are Catholics. There are some attacks and allusions to the church (pp. 41, 64) pronounced by one of the characters, and there are also some very realistic scenes. In general terms, the novel does not enclose serious inconveniences, and I believe that the novel does not represent a danger for readers with an elementary education.

In the first scene that the censor considered an attack on the church, Charles received some advice from his cousin Jasper in order to be successful at Oxford:

⁵² File 3873/1948: “Novela sin argumento casi y que viene a ser una obra de propaganda protestante. La creo inadmisibile. Novela pésimamente traducida en que se narran las extravagancias de una familia de nobles ingleses, católicos a su manera. Hay unos ataques o alusiones a la Iglesia (pp. 41, 64) en boca de uno de los personajes; hay también algunas escenas muy realistas. El conjunto no posee graves inconvenientes y creo que por personas de mediana formación no ofrece un peligro”.

You'll find you spend half your second year shaking off the undesirable friends you made in your first.... Beware of the Anglo-Catholics – they're all sodomites with unpleasant accents. In fact, steer clear of all the religious groups; they do nothing but harm.... (Waugh, 2012, p. 31)

In the second scene considered problematic, Charles was admonished by his cousin Jasper for being friends with Sebastian Flyte. Jasper explained to Charles that Sebastian's family was not an example to follow:

The Marchmains have lived apart since the war, you know. An extraordinary thing; everyone thought they were a devoted couple. Then he went off to France with his Yeomanry and just never came back. It was as if he'd been killed. She's a Roman Catholic, so she can't get a divorce – or won't, I expect. You can do anything at Rome with money, and they're enormously rich. Flyte may be all right, but Anthony Blanche - now there's a man there's absolutely no excuse for. (Waugh, 2012, 46-47)

Despite the fact that the censor seemed not to enjoy the novel, he finally authorised the import on 7 August 1948.

In 1962, the publishing house Aguilar intended to introduce *Brideshead Revisited* in the collection *Obras Escogidas* alongside other works such as

Decline and Fall, *Scoop*, *Put Out More Flags* and *Elena*. The report of antecedents of the file 6545/62 states that the novel was already authorised in 1948. As mentioned in the previous section of this chapter, *Obras escogidas* was not finally published. However, Aguilar published in 1966 the collection *Novelas escogidas* and in 1967 deposited it to the censorship department. The report of antecedents of this novel, enclosed in the file 61/67, reveals that *Retorno a Brideshead* was authorised in 1962 with erasures. This report does not specify what passages were erased and stated that the resolution of this novel was not recorded in the file (File 61/67)⁵³. The box 21/14290, which holds the files of *Obras escogidas* of 1962 includes a copy of *Retorno a Brideshead* translated by Clara Diament, nonetheless, no erasures could be found. Even though, the collection of novels *Obras escogidas* was not published in 1962, *Novelas escogidas* of 1966, which included *Retorno a Brideshead*, was successful in Spain, as 10,000 copies reached the readership, while in the late forties only 150 copies of *Retorno a Brideshead* were sold.

⁵³ The report of antecedents enclosed in the file 61/67: “*Retorno a Brideshead* autorizada con tachadura el 19/12/1962 [...] No figura la resolución en nuestros ficheros.”

4.6 *Work Suspended and other stories*

Work Suspended was Waugh's unfinished novel written in 1939 before he enrolled in the Royal Marines in December. Waugh lost interest in completing the novel, because he believed that "the world in which and for which it was designed has ceased to exist" (as cited Heath, 1982, p. 139). The novel was first published in a limited edition in 1942 by Chapman and Hall, and a revised version entitled *Work Suspended and Other Stories* was published in 1949, which enclosed eight short stories written before the Second World War: "Mr Loveday's Little Outing" (1935), "Cruise" (1932), "Period Piece" (1934), "On Guard" (1934), "An Englishman's Home" (1939), "Excursion in Reality" (1934), "Bella Fleace Gave a Party" (1932), "Winner Takes All" (1936).

The novel *Work Suspended* narrates the experiences of a successful novelist, John Plant, who enjoyed travelling from one place to another in order to write his detective novels. John's latter location was Fez, Marocco, where he was working at his last novel, "*Murder at Mountrichard Castle*" (Waugh, 1967, p. 107). He spent most of his time writing, and his recreations were scarce. Once a week he dined at the consulate accompanied by the consul and his wife. He also used to frequent Moulay Abdullah called the "quartier toléré" where he paid ten francs for Fatima's services (p. 123). John was still in Fez, when he received the news of his father's death. His father was a talented painter who could amount the fortune of 2,000 pounds, which John inherited alongside his father's house. Thus, he had to return to London. There, John reencountered a university friend, Roger Simmonds and his pregnant wife Lucy. Roger was also a novelist and Marxist.

He became communist because in those times “every clever young people” were (p. 161). John and Lucy spent lot of time together, as she helped him to find a house at the countryside. He fell in love with her, but when she had the child, John retired to the house he bought. John could not enjoy the house, as the Second World War outbroke and the house “was requisitioned, filled with pregnant women”. In five years the house was destroyed (p. 194). He joined the army and perceived the regimental soldiering as an agreeable way of life.

One of the most representative stories of Waugh’s collection was “*Mr Loveday’s Little Outing*”, which analysed the behaviour of lunatic people. Mr Loveday was interned in the “County Home for Mental Defectives” and was treated as an employee of the asylum. During many years, Mr Loveday effectively attended the patients of the hospital and he was loved by everyone. He behaved like a sane person and, one day, he was allowed to leave the asylum and enjoy himself. However, his enjoyment did not last long, as he immediately returned. Mr Loveday’s “little treat” consisted in strangling a young woman:

Half the mile up the road from the asylum gates, they later discovered an abandoned bicycle [...] Quite near it in the ditch, lay the strangled body of a young woman, who, riding home to her tea, had chanced to overtake Mr Loveday, as he strode along, musing on his opportunities. (Waugh, 1967, pp. 14-15)

In Spain, *Work Suspended and Other Stories* was submitted to censorship twice in 1953. On 12 May 1953 Iber-Amer asked for authorization in order to import the translation *Obra suspendida y otros cuentos* from Buenos Aires. The novel was translated by Guillermo Whitelow and published by Emecé in 1952. The price established for its selling in Spain was 45 pesetas. The censorship department rejected the import on 22 May 1953 (File 2993/53). The censorship file does not include a report which would justify censors' rejection. Few days later, on 28 May 1953, the publishing house Queromon editores requested permission to import 100 copies of the same edition (File 3348/53). On 10 June 1953, *Obra suspendida y otros cuentos* was not authorised by the censors either. The censor did not provide a report which could justify the rejection of this collection of short stories. Probably the censor found immoral that John Plant, the central figure of the novel *Work Suspended* had fallen in love with Lucy, the pregnant wife of his friend, Roger Simmonds. They might have also disliked the fact that Roger was communist.

4.7 *The Loved One*

Waugh published *The Loved One* in 1948 in *Horizon*, the magazine of Cyril Connolly, and it was inspired on a trip to the United States. Waugh went to Hollywood to discuss the filming of *Brideshead Revisited* and visited the cemetery Forest Lawn, which became the raw material for *The Loved One*. The novel was a satire of the mortuary customs in Hollywood where the burial was transformed

into a profitable industry based on a superficial sentimentalism. The clients of Forest Lawn, called “Whispering Glades” in the novel, paid a series of services to make their Loved Ones as comfortable as possible. Thus, the *Waiting Ones* could decide on one of the expensive coffins and select the appropriate attire for their *Loved Ones*:

He studied all that was for sale; even the simplest of these coffins, he humbly recognized, outshone the most gorgeous product of the Happier Hunting Ground and when he approached the 2,000-dollar level – and these were not the costliest – he felt himself in the Egypt of the Pharaohs [...] “How will the Loved One be attired? We have our own tailoring section. Sometimes after a very long illness there are not suitable clothes available and sometimes the Waiting Ones think it a waste of a good suit.” (Waugh, 2014, p. 17)

English criticism regarding *The Loved One* was both positive and negative, as it was already stated in chapter three of this research. On the one hand, Waugh’s friend, Cyril Connolly, considered the novel a “witty and macabre” satire comparing Waugh with Jonathan Swift (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 40). On the other hand, Edmund Wilson ridiculed Waugh’s belief in a life after death and he situated in a favourable light the cemetery patrons who practiced mortuary art, as “they seemed more sensible and less absurd than the priest-guided Evelyn Waugh” (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 316). However, the Spanish critics

enjoyed the novel. Aguirre de Cárcer (1949), for instance, considered it a “macabre farce” aimed at emphasising the failure of the American materialistic society (p. 93). Furthermore, Osete (1961) believed that Waugh achieved the peak of his novelistic perfection in style and technique (p. 79). The critic interpreted the novel as macabre comedy, which caused controversies among the Americans, as they believed that Waugh insulted America (Osete, 1961, p. 80).

In view of this positive reception in Spain, it could be assumed that the novel was also approved by the censorship department. On 31 December 1953, E.D.H.A.S.A. demanded authorization to import from Argentina two hundred copies at 36 pesetas each. The novel was translated into Spanish by Pedro Lecuona and published by Sudamericana in Buenos Aires in 1953. Pedro Lecuona was a Spanish diplomat and consul of the Spanish Republic in Buenos Aires (Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia, 2017). The censors’ report revealed that the novel was

A satire of certain sectors of North American society, which intended to replace authentic religious feelings with an absurd sentimentalism related to death. Characters in this novel were immoral, and the main character committed suicide. Nonetheless, as all her actions are ridiculed, the reader

does not identify any reason that could prevent its authorization. (File 188/54)⁵⁴

The import was authorised on 29 January 1954. According to this report, the censor had not even found the suicide of Miss Aimée Thanatogenos, the cosmetician of Whispering Glades, immoral. As the actions of the characters were ridiculed, the censor considered that Aimée's suicide act was another mockery. Moreover, her death was mocked by Dennis Barlow, the administrator of the pet cemetery, who gave Aimée the same treatment as to the animals he incinerated. When Aimée's corpse was introduced into the oven to be cremated, Dennis wrote to Mr. Joyboy, Aimée's supervisor, a postcard that he used to write for the pets' owners:

Tomorrow and in every anniversary as long as the Happier Hunting Ground existed a postcard would go to Mr. Joyboy: Your little Aimée is wagging her tale in heaven tonight, thinking of you. 'Like those Nicean barks of yore that gently o'er a perfumed sea/A weary way-worn wondered bored/To his own native shore'. (Waugh, 2014, p. 59)

⁵⁴ "Es una sátira de las creencias de ciertos sectores norteamericanos, que tratan de sustituir los auténticos sentimientos religiosos con un sentimentalismo absurdo, especialmente en relativo a la muerte. Los protagonistas son personas faltas de moralidad; la protagonista acaba suicidándose. Pero como todos sus actos se ponen en ridículo, el lector no ve malo que impida la autorización".

Two years later, on 5 April 1956, the Spanish General Society of the Library, requested authorization from the censorship department to import, this time from Hamburg, three hundred copies of a German version of the novel entitled *Tod in Hollywood*. In their report, censors noted that the novel was a satire of the mortuary customs in Hollywood, and it represented a protest against the modern way of living (File 1789/56)⁵⁵. The import was approved on 24 April 1956. As it could be observed, the novel had been accurately analysed by the censors, as they had all coincided in the fact that the novel was a satire of Hollywood mortuary customs and could henceforth be commercialised in Spain.

4.8 Scott King's Modern Europe

As mentioned in the third chapter of this research, Waugh's resource for this work was a trip to the Francoist Spain in 1946 alongside the editor of *The Tablet*, Douglas Woodruff. They participated in a conference, which celebrated the fourth centenary of Francisco de Vitoria, an expert in International Law. Franco's government organised this congress in order to improve his image abroad (Wykes, 1999, p. 151). This novella, first published in *The Cornhill Magazine* in the summer of 1947, focused on the struggle in preserving the importance of literary classics in a society that recently came out of a war and

⁵⁵ "El autor, un antiguo periodista inglés convertido al catolicismo visita Hollywood y hace una perfecta sátira de las costumbres locales vistos por un británico. Con especial habilidad narra todas las escalas sociales y hace un análisis de la lucha por el éxito en la meca del cine utilizando un tono irónico que hace de la novela, al mismo tiempo, una protesta contra la forma de vivir actual. Puede autorizarse".

dreamed of a modern world. The action was set at the end of the Second World War, when Scott-King was a schoolmaster of classical languages at an English public school called Grancester who enjoyed the work of Bellorius, a seventeenth century poet who was from a country called the Republic of Neutralia. Scott-King was considered a leading authority on Bellorius's work, as he translated his poem into English and wrote an essay about the poet entitled *The Last Latinist*. This country can be interpreted as the equivalent of Spain, yet Waugh clarified in a footnote that it was imaginary, and represented no existing state (Waugh, 1967, p. 198). Neutralians were "a clever Latin race" governed by a single party and a Marshal who kept "half the population in concentration camps", but he managed to maintain the country out of the Second World War (p. 199).

Thus, Scott-King was invited to Simona, the capital city of Neutralia to attend a conference on Bellorius's tercentenary. The schoolmaster pronounced a lecture in Latin, and was invested Doctorate of International Law (p. 236). When the conference was over, Scott-King could not get back to England, as he was not in possession of all the visas required for travelling. In this situation, Scott-King was forced to request aid to a clandestine association, which helped people to illegally flee the country. Scott-King had to travel to Palestine, where he was trapped in a "Jewish Illicit Immigrants Camp" (p. 248). Luckily, in this camp, he met Lockwood, one of his former students of Greek, who helped him to return to England.

As it was specified in chapter three of this research, British and Spanish critics were severe with this short novel. Orwell, for instance accused Waugh of not making a clear distinction between fascists and communists and advised

Waugh that to fight against the new world the preservation of the classical education could be effective, yet a better tool would be reading a sixpenny pamphlet on Marxism (as cited in Stannard, 1984, p. 296). The Spanish critic Aguirre de Cárcer (1949) defended the political system of Neutralia mocked by Waugh, since this system “achieved splendid results in the national culture” (p. 92). Aguirre De Cárcer qualified the novel as “a completely negative work done at the expense of sacrificing ideas and trends that Waugh should respect (p. 93). Moreover, the critic Carola Osete (1961) considered that Waugh insulted Europe in this novel (p. 80).

Considering this negative reception, it could be presumed that in Francoist Spain the novel was not going to be successful. On 22 April 1954, the editor Eduardo Figueroa Gneco requested authorization from the censorship department to import from Buenos Aires 100 copies of the novel translated *La Nueva Neutralia* by J.R. Wilcock priced at 30 pesetas. As expected, the import was rejected on 4 May 1954 (File 2660/54). There is no censors’ report, which would clarify the reasons of their rejection. This was the first and last time *Scott-King’s Modern Europe* was submitted to the Francoist censorship. The novella seemed not to enjoy in Spain the success of other works, such as *Black Mischief*, *Scoop* or *Brideshead Revisited*. It was not even included in the collection *Novelas Escogidas* printed in 1966, comprising five of Waugh’s novels.

Surely, the dark light in which Waugh presented Neutralia might have influenced the Spanish censors in their decision to refuse the import of this novella from Buenos Aires. Since the moment Scott-King landed in Neutralia, Waugh exposed the violent side of this country. Scott-King and his fellow-

travellers were cordially received by Arturo Fe, the organiser of the conference, who drove them to the Ministry where the events would take place. On their way, the organiser pointed out places where many murders had been committed:

‘Here’, he said, ‘the anarchists shot General Cardenas. Here syndical radicals shot the auxiliary bishop. Here the Agrarian League buried alive Ten Teaching Brothers. Here the Bimetallists committed unspeakable atrocities on the wife of Senator Mendoza’ (Waugh, 1967, p. 209)

Waugh presented Neutralians as superficial people who liked to appear wealthy and good professionals. The Neutralian male aristocracy gathered at the Ritz, and used to borrow money from the barmen, since prices were too high. They were all elegant and discussed money and women, but “they had never enough of either” (p. 212). Neutralians were also criticised for lacking professionalism in the cultural field. Hence, the conference organisers were not able to build an appropriate statue for Bellorius. They had no contemporary portraits of the poet; therefore, they unveiled a statue kept for many years in a mason’s yard. This statue was not Bellorius’s, “it was not the fraudulent merchant prince; it was even unambiguously male; it was scarcely human [...]” (p. 236). Probably, one aspect that censors might have considered politically incorrect was the fact that Neutralia was presented like a prison, which trapped Scott-King, as he could not return to England for lacking travelling visas. As a consequence of

this, he was forced to appeal to the underground travellers' association in order to abandon Neutralia illegally.

4.9 Helena

Helena, a historical novel dedicated to the Empress Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, was published in 1950 by Chapman and Hall. She was a British Princess, the daughter of king Coel, who had fallen in love with Constantius Chlorus and abandoned her home in England. She went first to Ratisbun, then to Nish and then, she and her husband and their son Constantine, established in Dalmatia. Helena was unhappy there, mainly because her husband betrayed her with a mistress. Years later, Constantius announced to Helena that he had married again, and she was not going to be his wife anymore. She lived alone after her divorce. Her son Constantine married Minervina and had a child called Crispus. When he divorced Minervina, he became the emperor of Rome, and Helena was proclaimed Empress of Dowager. Her grandson Crispus was murdered on his father's orders.

Helena had always questioned the existence of God, she became Christian and initiated a pilgrimage to Palestine with the intention of discovering the cross of Christ. She discovered the cross by means of a dream where she met a businessman who indicated to her the right place where the cross had been thrown. Helena's workers dug where she had been told, and three crosses appeared. The one that cured a sick woman was considered the authentic:

Next day, the 3rd of May, Bishop Macarius and Helena examined her finds. They were laid out on the pavement of the new basilica and comprised in order of importance the members of three crosses, detached but well preserved, a notice board split into two, four nails and a triangular block of wood (p. 156).

Once she accomplished her mission she died. She was buried in Rome in the sarcophagus designed for Constantine. She remained there until the reign of Pope Urban VIII, when her bones were moved to the church of Ara Coeli (p. 161).

This novel was also positively received in Spain. On 5 February 1955 E.D.H.A.S.A requested authorization to import from Buenos Aires 200 copies of the novel translated by Pedro Lecuona and published by Sudamericana in 1954. The price of each copy was set at 72 pesetas. The novel was approved on 10 March 1955. Censors stated that if the work was judged as an authentic historical text, they would consider *Helena* censurable and punishable (File 907/55). Nonetheless, they accepted the novel, because they interpreted it as a combination of historical facts and literary features:

A conjunction of historical elements and fantasy, more precisely a literary work based on objective references. The novel treated an archaeological theme based on a personal and modern interpretation, which included humorous nuances considered irrelevant when such respectable and

serious topics were discussed. Despite these inconveniences, it could be authorised. (File 907/55)⁵⁶

In this report, censors were critical with *Helena*, nonetheless they valued the religious and historical character of the novel and authorised its distribution.

4.10 *Men at Arms*

Men at Arms published in (1952) was Waugh's first novel of the war trilogy *Sword of Honour* (1965). The trilogy was based on Waugh's experience during the Second World War. He joined the Royal Marine and participated in a raid on Dakar in 1940. In 1941, he was transferred to Robert Laycock's Commando and fought in Crete. Then, he returned to the Marines. By 1934, as a member of the Special Air Service Regiment he took a parachuting course, and in 1944 went with Randolph Churchill to Yugoslavia as part of Fitzroy Maclean's Military Mission to Tito's Partisans (Heath, 1982, p. 210). His difficult and abrasive character led Waugh into disfavour with his superiors and he lost his adventurous

⁵⁶ "Si el volumen intitulado *Elena* del escritor Evelyn Waugh se considera como texto auténtico en el sentido histórico, la novela sería censurable y condenable. Versa el libro sobre la madre de Constantino, Santa Elena, inventora de la Santa Cruz. Pero la obra es una conjugación de elementos históricos y de fantasía, es decir, un trabajo de integración literaria, a base de referencias objetivas, pero como decimos, ensambladas con leyendas y fantasías. Así se 'novela' el tema, un tema arqueológico, apoyado en una interpretación muy personal y moderna, donde no faltan los matices del humorismo, que no creemos muy pertinentes en temas donde se barajan cosas tan serias y respetables. Pero a pesar de ello creemos que puede publicarse".

spirit. He was never promoted as he deserved, and a turning point emerged in 1943 when Colonel Robert Laycock did not keep his promise to take Waugh to North Africa on the Hasky operation (Heath, 1982, p. 211). Such experiences fostered Waugh's contempt for the army, as he mentioned in his diary:

I have got so bored with everything military that I can no longer remember the simplest details. I dislike the Army. I only want to get to work again. I do not want any more experiences in life [...] I don't want to be of service to anyone or anything. (Davie, 1976, pp. 547-548)

In *Men at Arms* Waugh introduced Guy Crouchback, who belonged to an illustrious old family. When the war broke out, Guy lived in Italy, in a villa, which belonged to his grandparents. Motivated by a patriotic spirit and also by loneliness, as he had spent the last eight years alone in Santa Dulcina since his divorce from his unfaithful wife Virginia, Guy decided to enlist in the war. When Guy learned about the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, he identified a clear enemy and hoped that there was a place for him in the battle:

But now, splendidly everything had become clear. The enemy at last was plane in view, huge and hateful, all disguise cast off. It was the Modern Age in arms. Whatever the outcome, it was a place for him in that battle. (Waugh, 2014, p. 3)

After countless applications, Guy finally succeeded in enlisting in the Royal Corps of Halberdiers. Being thirty-six years old, Guy was respected by the rest of the younger soldiers whom called Guy “uncle”. He made friends with Apthorpe, who was Guy’s age, and he enjoyed the Halberdiers. He was taught to shoot, and he became an officer, a platoon commander and also a captain. One of Guy’s main operations took place in Dakar. In this operation, Brigadier Ritchie-Hook was hurt by a bullet, but he was able to decapitate one of the French soldiers and keep his head as a souvenir. Guy’s army experience was shadowed by the death of his best friend Apthorpe. His friend enjoyed drinking and he constantly suffered all sorts of illnesses. This time he seemed to have caught an infection. When Guy visited Apthorpe at the hospital, he offered him a bottle of whisky in order to cheer him up. Apthorpe was not allowed to have alcohol, but he drank some and became more cheerful. When Guy left, Apthorpe fell into a coma and died. Guy was accused of murder and was dismissed.

Men at Arms is a novel about the Second World War where Waugh might have made some negative references regarding the Italian Fascism and the German Nazism, two ideologies that Franco’s regime appreciated. Therefore, considering that Waugh may have put the Italian Fascism and the German Nazism under a negative light, it could be assumed that the censors might have found these suggestions threatening. Guy Crouchback was still in Italy reading his Italian paper when he expressed his opinions about the fascist Italy and the Nazis:

He lived too close to Fascism in Italy to share the opposing enthusiasm of his countrymen. He saw it neither as a calamity nor as a rebirth; as a rough improvisation merely [...] The German Nazi he knew to be mad and bad. Their participation dishonoured the cause of Spain, but the troubles to Bohemia, left him indifferent. (Waugh, 2014, p. 3)

Waugh also highlighted that the British authorities fought against the fascists. Guy and his brother in law Box-Bender who was a member of the parliament were investigated by the espionage headquarters in London. Box-Bender was not considered a threat, nonetheless Guy was accused of being on good terms with the fascist authorities in Italy. Consequently, both Box-Bender and Guy were registered in a "Most Secret index ", which became part of the "Most Secret archives of the Second World War":

'Have we anything on this Box? Nothing very suspicious about a hyphenated name, I hope?' 'We've nothing very significant, sir [...]' 'But Crouchback's quite another fish. Until September of last year he lived in Italy and is known to have been in good terms with Fascist authorities. 'Don't you think I would better open a file for him?' 'Yes, perhaps it would be as well'. 'For both sir?' Yes. Pop'em all in' [...] Thus, two new items were added to the Most Secret index, which later was micro-filmed and multiplied and dispersed into a dozen indexes in all the Counter Espionage

Headquarters of the Free World and became a permanent part of the Most Secret archives of the Second World War. (pp. 91-92)

Therefore, considering these negative references to fascists, the Spanish censors might have decided to forbid *Men at Arms* in Spain. The Spanish National Archives registered a single censorship file on *Men at Arms* on 24 February 1955. The publishing house Publicaciones Hispanoamericanas asked for authorization to import 150 copies of the novel from Buenos Aires translated *Hombres en armas* by Miguel Alfredo Olivera, and published in Argentina by Emecé in 1954. On 10 March 1955, the censors refused to authorise the import of the novel (File 1193/55). The censorship file did not enclose a report, which could clarify the reasons for the censors' rejection. The novel was not submitted to censorship again, and no translations were recorded in Spain during the Francoist dictatorship. The other two novels included in the war trilogy, *Officers and Gentlemen* (1955) and *Unconditional Surrender* (1961) did not enjoy more success than *Men at Arms*. The Archives do not guard any censorship files on these two novels.

4.11 *Love Among the Ruins*

Love Among the Ruins is a short novel that depicts a macabre dystopian society which reveals Waugh's contempt for the evolution of the world after the Second World War. In England, this novel was first published in 1953 by Chapman and Hall. The action is set in the near future, where people were living in a welfare state in charge of promoting the death wish, which was accomplished through euthanasia practice. Miles Plastic was an orphan educated through "Constructive Play" and psychoanalysis. At the appropriate age, he was sent to an aeroplane base where he was given a job of tending a dish-washing machine. When Miles burned the place down, he was sent to the luxurious prison at the Mountjoy Castle. Here, for two years, he enjoyed a luxurious treatment, and he was terribly disappointed when he was rehabilitated.

Miles started working at the Euthanasia Department founded by the Tory as "a measure designed to attract votes from the aged and the mortally sick" (Waugh, 2009, p. 309). This service earned popularity, since immigrants took advantage of it in such numbers that the authorities turned back those who held a single ticket. Even teachers proposed the application of this service to the problematic children (p. 309). Precisely, at one of the queues for the Euthanasia Department, Miles met Clara, a ballerina who had "a long silken corn-gold beard" and had fallen in love with her (p. 311). As a result of their romance, Clara got pregnant, but she immediately aborted, as a baby would have destroyed her dancing career. Hurt by the reality Miles encountered outside the prison, he decided to take revenge on the prison, and burned it down. Subsequently, Miles

was advised by the Minister of Rest and Culture to complete his rehabilitation by marrying and having a few children. This did not make Miles happy either, and during the marriage ceremony, he pressed his lighter while it was still in his pocket (p. 323).

Spanish censors may not approve certain aspects of this dystopian society, such as the functioning of a euthanasia department and Clara's abortion. On 11 May 1955, E.D.H.A.S.A requested authorization in order to import two hundred copies of the novel from Argentina, translated *Amor entre ruinas* by J. Mendes. This novel was published in Argentina in 1954 by Emecé Editores. The report presented by the censors disclosed that this short novel was a utopia and narrated the life of a ballerina who lived in an imaginary country. The censors probably found offensive the euthanasia practice and Clara's decision to abort, because they decided to authorize it, as it was dedicated to "a minority":

This is a short novel included in a collection where many famous novelists are publishing. The plot involves the life of a ballerina who lives in an imaginary country, which seems to be rather a utopia. Being this an importation book and a piece of literature dedicated rather to a minority, it can be authorised. (File 2875/55)⁵⁷

⁵⁷ "Es ésta una novela muy corta de una colección en la que están publicando otros novelistas famosos contemporáneos. El argumento es la vida de una bailarina en un país imaginario más bien de utopía. Siendo un libro de importación y de una literatura más bien dedicada a la minoría puede ser autorizada".

This was the first and last time *Love Among the Ruins* was submitted to censorship.

4.12 *Vile Bodies*

Vile Bodies was first published by Chapman and Hall in 1930, and the Uniform Edition appeared in 1965. The novel is a social satire of the generation of Bright Young People. Richard Jacobs, in the introduction of the 2012 edition, stated that “there is remarkable little sex in *Vile Bodies*” as Waugh intended to avoid the editorial censorship that his first novel *Decline and Fall* suffered (Jacobs, 2012). In the work *Bright Young People, The Rise and Fall of a Generation 1918-1940*, D. J. Taylor (2010) described this generation as one of the most outstanding youth cults in British history (p. 1). The Bright Young People were a “pleasure-seeking band of bohemian party-givers and blue-blooded socialites” presented in the gossip columns of 1920s newspapers (Taylor, 2010, p. 1). The gossip columnist Patrick Balfour (1933) in *Society Racket: A Critical Survey of Modern Social Life* explained that the “party generation” was marked by irresponsibility, as “there was no particular object in anything that we did, but we were sensible of its full flavour as we did it” (p. 65). The behaviour of the Bright Young People was influenced by the post-war uncertainty, which transformed them into a tormented generation “undecided what to believe, now that so much of what they had been taught to believe was meaningless” (p. 65). They “grew

defiant” and consequently “destroyed themselves, degenerating into a slough of dope and other excesses” (p. 172).

In *Vile Bodies*, Father Rothchild, described by Waugh as a fake priest who stole a small suitcase of imitation crocodile from the valet-de-chambre of his hotel, noticed that the young generation refused to follow the old teachings of the Church, which preached that “if a thing’s worth doing at all, it’s worth doing well.” (Waugh, 2012, p. 126). The Bright Young People did exactly the opposite, as they believed that “if a thing’s not worth doing well, it’s not worth doing at all” (Waugh, 2012, p. 126). The object of Waugh’s satire was the young generation of the 1920s, Father Rothchild, as well as the high society of London; nonetheless, the centre of interest was Adam Fenwick- Symes whose aim was to publish a memoir in order to earn some money and marry Nina Blount. Unfortunately, his memoir was considered “downright dirt” and it was confiscated by a customs officer when he disembarked from a ship (Waugh, 2012, p. 25). Adam and Nina alongside their friends Miss Agatha Runcible, Archie and Miles used to spend most of their time in all types of parties. They did not have a clear purpose in life:

(...Masked parties, Savage parties, Victorian parties, Greek parties, Wild West parties, Russian parties, Circus parties, parties where one had to dress as somebody else, almost naked parties in St John’s Wood, parties in flats and studios and houses and ships and hotels and night clubs, in windmills and swimming-baths, tea parties at school where one ate muffins and meringues and tinned crab, parties at Oxford where one drank brown

sherry and smoked Turkish cigarettes, dull dances in London and comic dances in Scotland and disgusting dances in Paris – all that succession and repetition of massed humanity... Those vile bodies...) (p. 119)

Waugh did not fail to mock the religious faith that some characters had and made good business by preaching this faith. For instance, Margot Metroland, the former Margot Beste-Chetwynde already introduced in *Decline and Fall*, gave a party for the famous evangelist woman Mrs Merlose Ape and her angels who were called after the Christian virtues: Faith, Charity, Fortitude, Chastity, Humility, Prudence, Divine Discontent, Mercy, Justice and Creative Endeavour. Mrs Ape, a religious woman, always charged people for her preaching because she believed that “salvation doesn’t do them the same good if they think it’s free” (p. 22). At Margot’s party, Mrs Ape succeeded to convert the English upper class, and the gossip columnist Simon Balcairn transmitted Mrs Ape’s success to the newspaper *Excess*. After reproducing his best column, Balcairn committed suicide and Mrs Ape alongside the other participants at the party took the *Excess* to court.

In Spain, *Vile Bodies* was submitted to censorship on 13 October 1955. E.D.H.A.S.A. requested authorization to import *Vile Bodies* from Argentina and distribute three hundred copies in Spain at 61 pesetas each. *Vile Bodies* was translated by Floreal Mazía into *Cuerpos Viles*. Floreal Mazía was a poet, journalist, critic and translator who controlled five languages and 16 dialects (Literarios de Buenos Aires, 2009). As a translator, Mazía worked for Argentinian,

Spanish, Uruguayan and Mexican publishing houses. He translated representative authors like Lawrence Durrell, Mark Twain, Oscar Wilde, Richard Wright, Robert Wilder and Friedrich Pollock (Literarios de Buenos Aires, 2009). The censor's report on *Cuerpos viles* stated that the novel represented "humorous aspects of English social life replete of cutting intentions" (File 5354/55)⁵⁸. According to the censor, the English life depicted in the novel was a consequence of the development of the social life in all nations. This development was caused by the disappearance of social differences (File 5354/55). The novel was authorized on 3 November 1955. This translation was the only edition approved in Spain during the Francoist regime. *Vile Bodies*, unlike *Decline and Fall*, *Black Mischief*, *Scoop* and *A Handful of Dust* was not included in the collection *Novelas Escogidas* published by Aguilar in 1966.

The approval of *Vile Bodies* by the Spanish censors is arguable, since the novel comprises a series of references to prostitution that from a moral point of view could have represented a menace for the Francoist values. Richard Jacobs (2012), as previously mentioned, stated that there was little sex in the novel, yet enough to be found offensive by the Spanish Catholic Church. Mrs Margot Metroland worked as prostitute recruiter in *Vile Bodies* as she did in *Decline and Fall*. At the party dedicated to Mrs Ape, the American evangelist, she intended to

⁵⁸ "Son cuadros de vida inglesa lleno de humor y de intención acústica. Una vida inglesa de un futuro inmediato, consecuencia del desarrollo que hoy se opera en la vida social de todos los pueblos, causado en gran parte por la desaparición de las diferencias sociales [...] Procede su autorización".

recruit two of the girls who worked for Mrs Ape and send them to Latin America to entertain men:

‘You don’t look happy, my dear,’ she found time to say to Chastity, as she led them across a job in South America. I mean it.’ ‘Oh, thank you,’ said Chastity, ‘but I could never leave Mrs Ape.’ ‘Well, think it over, child. You’re far too pretty a girl to waste your time singing hymns. Tell that other girl, the red-headed one, that I can probably find a place for her, too.’ ‘What, Humility? Don’t you have nothing to do with her. She’s a fiend.’ ‘Well, some men like rough stuff, but I don’t want anyone who makes trouble with the other girls’. (Waugh, 2012, p. 92)

The ignorant girls, Chastity and Divine Discontent, accepted the offer. Waugh clarified that the young women’s friends had also practiced prostitution, yet not in Latin America but in “Oberammergau”. In a letter to their friends, the two girls criticised the Latin American entertainment, and their friends complained that their conditions were not too different:

At intervals letters arrived from Buenos Aires in which Chastity and Divine Discontent spoke rather critically of Latin American entertainment. ‘They didn’t know when they were well off,’ said Mrs Ape. ‘It doesn’t sound much different from us,’ said Creative Endeavour wistfully. (Waugh, 2012, p. 106)

When the war broke out, Chastity went to different places including the East:

“I hadn’t no money and they made a fuss about my passport, so they called me numéro mille soixante dix-huit and they sent me and a lot of other girls off to the East to be with the soldiers there”. (Waugh, 2012, p. 212)

Chastity’s final destiny was near a drunk old Captain who owed Adam one thousand pounds. He found her legs “fine”, “little” and “strong”:

‘Well, you’re as right as rain now, little lady,’ he said, ‘so let’s see you smile and look happy. You mustn’t sit there scowling, you know – far too pretty a little mouth for that. Let me take off that heavy coat. Look, I’ll wrap it round your knees. There, now, isn’t that better?... Fine, strong little legs, eh?’. (Waugh, 2012, p. 212)

It seems that for the Spanish censors, this prostitution practice had not offended the moral values that the Catholic Church defended. As if it had, then they would have censured *Vile Bodies*, or at least those passages where Waugh described the immoral behaviour of Mrs Margot Metroland, Chastity and her friends. However, censors were right on the “the superficial love story” between

Adam and Nina⁵⁹. Adam loved Nina enough to decide to sell her to Ginger Littlejohn to get money for his hotel bill:

‘Now, Ginger, tell the truth. What’s Nina worth to you?’ ‘Good Lord, why what an extraordinary thing to ask; everything in the world of course. I’d go through fire and water for that girl.’ ‘Well, I’ll sell her to you.’ ‘You pretend to be fond of Nina and you talk about her like that!’ [...] ‘A hundred down, and I leave Nina to you. I think it’s cheap.’ ‘Fifty.’ ‘A hundred.’ ‘Seventy-five.’ ‘A hundred.’ ‘I’m damned if I’ll pay more than seventy-five.’ ‘I’ll take seventy-eight pounds sixteen and two pence. I can’t go lower than that.’ ‘All right, I’ll pay that’. (Waugh, 2012, pp. 186-7)

Vile Bodies was apparently a novel about the Bright Young People, nonetheless it enclosed harsh realities like the practice of prostitution, which the Spanish censors could have censored, but they did not find it important enough.

⁵⁹ “Con este fondo una leve historia de amor entre un periodista y la hija de un típico coronel inglés”.

4.13 *Decline and Fall*

Decline and Fall was Waugh's first novel, published in 1928 by Chapman and Hall. The novel narrates the story of young Paul Pennyfeather, a student of theology at Scone College, an imaginary Oxford college. Paul Pennyfeather's experiences and all the characters he encountered were considered "exhilaratingly fresh and funny", yet at the same time "implicitly serious" (Heath, 1982, p. 63). While following Paul's experiences, Waugh satirized the education system, the state church, the penal system, high society as well as politics and politicians, emerging a satire "outrageously hilarious" (Heath, 1982, p. 65). Pennyfeather was a student at Oxford when he got into trouble with the members of Bollinger Club, and he was expelled. He was forced to search for a job, and he finally accepted employment as a schoolteacher at the Llanabba Castle School in North Wales. While he was tutoring one of his students, Peter Beste-Chetwynde, he fell in love with his mother, Margot. She asked him to help her with her business in South America and he accepted. Just before marrying Margot, Paul was arrested and sent to prison for prostitution traffic. Margot's fortune came from the brothels in South America. She decided to marry Sir Humphrey Maltravers, Minister of Transportation, because he promised to help Paul get out from prison. Maltravers ordered to falsify Paul's death certificate, and he could start a new life. Paul returned to Oxford to study theology under a new identity.

In Spain, this novel arrived on 13 October 1955. It had already been translated in Argentina into *Decadencia y caída* by Floreal Mazía and published

by Sudamericana in 1955. In Spain, E.D.H.A.S.A. asked for authorization to import this translation, with the intention of distributing 300 copies priced at 62 pesetas each. *Decadencia y caída* was positively assessed by the censors. They noted that the novel had “nothing censurable”, as it was concerned with the education of some children, who depended on “a collection of failed teachers” (File 5357/55)⁶⁰. The censors concluded that the novel was a critique of some of the English schools and they authorized the import on 8 November 1955. In 1962, Aguilar intended to introduce the novel in the collection *Obras escogidas*, which was not published that year. However, in 1966 Aguilar published the collection *Novelas escogidas*, which was deposited to censorship in 1967. In the report of antecedents of file 61/67, the censor mentioned that the novel was authorised with erasures in 1962 when included in the collection *Obras escogidas*. Nonetheless, the censorship files 6545/62 and 61/67 do not enclose a report which could clarify what passages were erased⁶¹. All the novels in *Novelas escogidas* included *Decline and Fall*, translated by Floreal Mazía, were authorised.

It is surprising that the Spanish censors assumed that *Decline and Fall* was only a satire of the English school and authorised its distribution. Duckworth publishers refused the novel for “indelicacy” and Chapman and Hall accepted it

⁶⁰ “Nada censurable. En un colegio inglés se reúne un claustro de profesores y cada uno de ellos habían aspirado a una situación mejor que la conseguida. En resumen, la educación de los niños depende de una colección de profesores fracasados. Resulta una crítica del ambiente de algunos colegios ingleses”.

⁶¹ The report of antecedents of file 61/67 stated that *Decadencia y caída* was “autorizada con tachadura el 19/12/62.”

only with certain changes, which had slightly mitigated the polemical charge of the novel. In 1962, a revised edition was published by Chapman and Hall with some modifications “for reasons of property and literary improvement” (Doyle, 1967, p. 4). The Spanish censors could have considered the novel inappropriate, at least from a moral and religious point of view. Waugh displayed in *Decline and Fall* numerous implied and explicit references to sex, prostitution and offences against women. Moreover, the Catholic religious practice, which represented the pillar of Franco’s regime, was constantly mocked.

Surely, the fact that the censor was reading a more mitigated version of the novel, might have influenced his decision to authorize it. For instance, in the restored edition of 1962, the stationmaster, regularly offered his sister to men: “‘I’ve been talking to the stationmaster here’, he said, ‘and if either of you ever wants a woman, his sister-’” (p. 65). In the edition of 1928, translated by Mazía in 1955 and approved by the Spanish censor, the “sister” of the stationmaster was a “young lady” translated as follows⁶² “-¿Se sienten solitarios? - preguntó. He estado hablando con el jefe de la estación, ese que está allá, y si alguno de ustedes quiere que le presente a una joven...” (Waugh, 1955, p. 40). “Una joven” might not have been considered inappropriate by the censor. A clear reference to sexual relations was provided by Mr Fagan when he criticised Welsh people. Fagan mentioned that Welsh sons and daughters “rarely mate with human kind except their own blood relations” (Doyle, 1967, p. 4). Mazía’s translation into

⁶² For more details regarding the changes of the first edition of 1928 and the restored edition of 1962 see Doyle, P. A. (1967). *Decline and Fall: Two Versions*. Evelyn Waugh Newsletter.

Spanish of the 1928 version was almost literal “sus hijos se unen muy raramente a representantes de la raza humana, excepción hecha de sus parientes consanguíneos” (Waugh, 1955, p. 88). Nonetheless, the verb “mate” should have been probably translated “se aparean” in order to transmit the mating action practiced by animals. The translation of “mate” into “se unen” mitigates the idea of sexual relations between humans and animals, which the censor might have not considered it improper.

Even though, the censor read a mitigated version, the novel includes clearly immoral scenes, which the censor had not found inappropriate. For instance, a scene charged with immorality was provided by Margot Beste-Chetwynde. Margot was a rich North American who amassed her fortune through the brothels she owned in South America. She had three free posts in these brothels and she interviewed several girls to send to Rio. Mazía translated this scene as follows:

- ¿Nombre? - preguntó Margot.
- Pompilia de la Conradine.
- ¿Nombre verdadero? Bessy Brown.
- ¿Edad?
- Veintidós.
- ¿Edad verdadera?
- Veintidós.

- ¿Experiencia? -Trabajé para Mrs Rosenbaum, de la calle Jermyn, durante dos años señora.

- Bien Bessy, veré qué puedo hacer por ti. ¿Por qué te fuiste de lo Mrs. Rosenbaum?

- Dijo que a los caballeros les gustaban cambiar.

- Le preguntaré. – Margot tomó el teléfono, que estaba sostenido por un guante de pugilismo. – Es Mrs. Rosenbaum? Habla Diversiones Latinoamericanas, Limitada. ¿Puede darme informes sobre Miss Conradine?... Ah, ¿por eso se fué de ahí? ¡Muchas gracias! Ya me parecía que debía de ser eso. – Colgó. - Lo siento Bess no hay nada para ti por el momento. Oprimió el timbre, que se encontraba en el ojo de una trucha asalmonada, e hicieron pasar a otra joven.

- ¿Nombre?

- Jane Grimes.

- ¿Quién te envió?

- El caballero de Cardiff. Me dió esto para que se lo entregara. Extrajo un arrugado sobre y se lo tendió. Margot leyó la nota.

- Sí ya veo. ¿De modo que eres nueva en el oficio, Jane?

- Como un niño recién nacido, señora.

- ¿Pero estás casada?

- Sí, señora, pero fué durante la guerra, y él estaba muy borracho.

- ¿Dónde está tu esposo?
- Muerto, según me han dicho.
- Excelente Jane. Eres la clase de persona que necesitamos". (Waugh, 1955, p. 196, 197, 198)⁶³

The interview scene could have been called by Heath (1982) "outrageous", because Waugh "made the outrageous sound normal" as for him "the normal was outrageous" (p. 78). Probably the Spanish censors also noted that the outrageous sounded normal, and for this reason they authorized the book. It seemed that they found the sexual references, the prostitution practice and the offences towards women, all normal. Or, they probably found these offences funny, as Waugh himself declared that the book was meant to be funny, yet no comedy can be noticed in prostitution practice:

⁶³ The original version: "Name?" said Margot. 'Pompilia de la Conradine.' Margot wrote it down. 'Real name?' 'Bessy Brown.' 'Age?' 'Twenty-two.' 'Experience?' 'I was at Mrs Rosenbaum's for two years, madam.' 'Well, Bessy, I'll see what I can do for you. Why did you leave Mrs Rosenbaum's?' 'She said the gentlemen liked a change, madam.' 'I'll just ask her.' Margot took up the telephone, which was held by a boxing glove. 'Is that Mrs Rosenbaum? This is Latin-American Entertainments, Ltd, speaking. Can you tell me about Miss de la Conradine? Oh, that was the reason she left you? Thank you so much! I rather thought that might be it.' She rang off. 'Sorry, Bessy; nothing for you until you're well again.' She pressed the bell, which was in the eye in a salmon trout, and another young lady was shown in. 'Name?' 'Jane Grimes'. 'Who sent you to me?' 'The gentleman at Cardiff. He gave me this to give you.' She produced a scrumpled envelope and handed it across the table. Margot read the note. 'Yes, I see. So, you're new to the business, Jane?' 'Like a babe unborn, mum.' 'But you married?' 'Yes, mum, but nothing happened. It was in the war, and he was very drunk.' 'Where's your husband?' 'Dead, so they do say.' 'That's excellent, Jane. You are just the sort we want' (Waugh, 2012, pp. 178-79).

Everything is drawn, without malice, from the vaguest of imaginations. Please bear in mind throughout that it is meant to be funny. (Doyle, 1967, p. 4)

Funny were indeed the scenes where Waugh mocked the penal system and religious practice. Waugh wrote a particularly hilarious scene acted by the director of the prison, Mr Wilfred, the Chief Warder and a lunatic prisoner. The lunatic prisoner was praying intensively with the Bible in one hand and a piece of wood in another, when he called the warder all sorts of offences like “whore of Babylonia”:

God bless my soul!’ said Sir Wilfred; ‘that’s the man I put on special treatment. What is he here for?’ ‘I was on night duty last night between the hours of 8 p.m. and 4 a.m.,’ testified the warder in a sing song voice, ‘when my attention was attracted by sounds of agitation coming from the prisoner’s cell. Upon going to the observation hole I observed the prisoner pacing up and down his cell in a state of high excitement. In one hand he held his Bible, and in the other a piece of wood which he had broken from his stool. His eyes were staring; he was breathing heavily, and at times muttering verses of the Bible. I remonstrated with the prisoner when he addressed me in terms prejudicial to good discipline.’ ‘What are the words complained of?’ asked the Chief Warder. ‘He called me a Moabite, an abomination of Moab, a wash pot, an unclean thing, an uncircumcised

Moabite, an idolater, and a whore of Babylon, sir.' 'I see. What do you advise, officer?' 'A clear case of insubordination, sir,' said the Chief Warder. 'Try him on No. 1 diet for a bit.' [...] 'What would you say was the most significant part of the evidence?' he asked. The Chief Warder considered. 'I think whore of Babylon, on the whole, sir.' Sir Wilfred smiled as a conjurer may who has forced the right card. 'Now I,' he said, 'am of different opinion. It may surprise you, but I should say that the significant thing about this case was the fact that the prisoner held a piece of the stool.' 'Destruction of prison property,' said the Chief Warder. 'Yes, that's pretty bad'. (Waugh, 2012, pp. 214-15)

The style that Waugh employed to present the faults of the British society was comical, nonetheless the substance was serious. He criticised the manner some high society representatives like Margot Beste achieved their fortune, the lack of professionalism of the school masters - Grimes always fell into the soup and he enjoyed drinking and women, as he had two wives- the ill way religion was practiced as well as the bad administration of the penal system. The censors probably had identified these factors, but they might not have found them offensive enough.

4.14 *Edmund Campion*

Edmund Campion was one of Waugh's works with a religious theme. *Edmund Campion* published in 1935 was a biography of the English Roman Catholic Jesuit St. Edmund Campion (1540-1581). Before being a priest, Campion was also a scholar at Oxford University. While teaching at the university, he was forced to decide between being a Protestant or a Catholic and he elected the second option. Consequently, Campion, as well as all Catholics, was persecuted and in 1570 he went to Ireland. There, he lived with a cultured family of a former student called Richard Stanihurst. During his years in Ireland, he went to the English College at Douai and wrote a short book about the history of Ireland. Waugh considered Campion one of the greatest masters of prose:

With all its imperfections of structure and material, it is enough to show that, had Campion continued in the life he was then planning for himself, he would, almost certainly, have come down in history as one of the great masters of English prose. (Waugh, 2012, p. 31)

In 1573 Campion took his degree and went to Rome hoping to enter in the Society of Jesus, and he wrote a book entitled *Ten Reasons*, which explained the reasons why Catholics refused to attend Protestant services. Some copies of this work were introduced by Father Harley in St. Mary Church. *Ten Reasons* raised great

interest and the Catholic hunters trapped Campion. He was judged, tortured and finally executed in 1581.

Edmund Campion's biography was welcomed in a Catholic country like Spain. On 1 September 1960, E.D.H.A.S.A solicited permission to import from Santiago de Chile 100 copies of *El Jesuita y la Reina* translated by E. Lorca de Rojo. Censors did not find any inconvenience in Campion's biography and on 5 October 1960 the import was authorised. The report stated that in this biography, "the author narrated an episode of the English reform through the figure of Priest Campion who was martyred. Waugh employed historical elements alongside literary evocations. The work is ordinary and orthodox" (File 4450/60)⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ "El autor narra un episodio de la Reforma inglesa, evocando la figura del insigne P. Campion, martirizado entre tantos otros. El autor, como es sabido, egregio novelista, no desdeña, ni mucho menos, los elementos históricos, pero los hace simultanear con las evocaciones literarias. La obra es regular y ortodoxa. Puede autorizarse.

4.15 *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*

The novel *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* was first published in 1957, and it was rooted on Waugh's madness experience. On 15 August 1957, Waugh admitted to the writer Robert Henriques that Pinfold's experience was his own:

Mr Pinfold's experiences were almost exactly my own. In turning them into a novel I had to summarize them. I heard 'voices' such as I describe almost continuously night and day for three weeks. They were tediously repetitive and sometimes obscene and blasphemous [...]. My voices ceased as soon as I was intellectually convinced that they were imaginary. (Amory, 1980, pp. 493-94)

The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold narrated the story of a well-known writer, who suffered from rheumatism and insomnia. The doctor prescribed him some strong pills for rheumatism, which Pinfold mingled with "bromide and chloral and crème de menthe, wine and gin and brandy, and to a new sleeping-draught" (Waugh, 2014, p. 11). Pinfold intended to write a novel, yet his unstable health prevented him. Thus, he decided to travel to Ceylon and write the novel on board of a ship called *Caliban*. On board, noisy music and menacing voices persecuted him. Pinfold tried to justify his paranoia thorough a series of theories like the existence of a war communication system running across his cabin, which allowed him to

overhear conversations from all parts of the ship including the captain's cabin (p. 22).

The novel includes a reference to Spain, more precisely to the Spanish officials, who were searching the ships that were passing the straits of Gibraltar. While he was suffering one of his hallucinations, Pinfold thought that two generals requested the captain of the *Caliban* to take the ship to Algeciras "for an examination of cargo and passengers" (p. 44). The captain refused to accomplish such orders, as an unregistered passenger was on board on "a special mission" for Her Majesty's Government (p. 46). It seemed that the real intention of the Spanish officials was to trap this man. Thus, the captain intended to protect this special man and hand Mr Pinfold to the Spanish officials instead. Mr Pinfold was so frightened that he ran out of his cabin and realised that the Spanish officials and their ship were not around. A terrible fear of being mad overwhelmed Pinfold. He returned to his cabin and fell into a deep sleep. Back home, his wife helped him understand that the abusive voices he had heard during the journey were just part of his imagination. Once he understood that nothing of what he had heard was real, his hallucinations disappeared.

Considering that the novel was inspired on Waugh's own experience, which does not seem to threaten morality nor political values, it could be assumed that in Spain it would have been positively received by the censors. On 25 October 1960, E.D.H.A.S.A solicited authorization to import from Buenos Aires 100 copies translated *La Odisea de Gilbert Pinfold* by María Inés Oyuela de

Estrada published in 1959 by Emecé. In his report, the censor provided a short summary of the novel and decided not to authorize the import⁶⁵:

The novel portrays the character and English humour, which reveals the personality of a distinguished writer disturbed by significant insecurities caused by a medical treatment and by the nostalgia and the weariness of a cultured man. The “ordeal” of Gilbert is founded on a world of hallucinations and fantasies developed during a journey to India, that he took in order to forget obsessions and routine. Nothing can prevent this novel from circulating, however, in certain pages, the figure of Generalísimo Franco is attacked and degraded. Therefore, it cannot be imported. (File 5238/60)

On 14 February 1972, the Spanish publishing house Alianza requested authorization to publish 15,000 copies priced at 60 pesetas each. This novel was a second edition published by Emecé in 1969 and translated into *La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold* by María Inés Oyuela de Estrada. The first edition was the one

⁶⁵ The report issued by the censor in file 5238/1960 of box 21/12976: “Novela de muy marcado carácter y humor inglés donde se perfila por el novelista la personalidad de un escritor ilustre, un poco perturbado por complejos muy acusados, debido en parte a un tratamiento médico que él preconiza y adopta, y también a nostalgias y hastios de un hombre muy cultivado. La “odisea” de Gilbert estriba en el mundo de alucinaciones y fantasías concebidas durante un viaje a las Indias, que inicia por desterrar manías y rutinas. Nada de particular ofrecería la novela para su circulación, pero en ciertas páginas se ataca y rebaja la figura del Generalísimo, Franco, por lo que no debe importarse. “

previously presented and published in Buenos Aires in 1959. In a report issued on 22 February, the censor stated that this was a typical English novel, which narrated the story of a serious man by employing sarcasm and irony. The censor observed that Waugh invented a character, who could be Waugh himself, to express his critical spirit, thus the novel could be authorised (File 1934/72)⁶⁶. Another report issued on 23 February, mentioned that the mixture of alcohol and medicines produced mental confusions and hallucinations to Pinfold. One of his hallucinations developed in the chapter entitled "The International Incident", which the censor considered offensive:

The action developed in the Strait of Gibraltar where Pinfold mixed up the reality of the Spanish defence with his deliriums, which led to injurious concepts toward Spain and its Government. Therefore, this chapter should be entirely suppressed (pages 143-153). Once the suppression would be executed, the novel could be authorised. (File 1934/72)⁶⁷

⁶⁶ "*La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold* es una novela clásicamente inglesa, en la que un hombre serio intenta narrar la historia de su vida a través de ese sarcasmo e ironía muy propia de la literatura inglesa. Evelyn Waugh utiliza un personaje escritor que tal vez pueda ser él mismo para dar rienda suelta a su espíritu crítico. No tiene nada que objetar. Autorizable.

⁶⁷ "Novela. Retrato de un escritor en su madurez. La mezcla de medicaciones y el alcohol le produce una confusión mental que le hace confundir la realidad y las alucinaciones, personajes vivos e imaginarios, así como crea situaciones que le hacen vivir extrañas experiencias cercanas al delirio. Una de estas situaciones, titulada "Incidente internacional" se sitúa en el Estrecho de Gibraltar y al mezclar la realidad de las reivindicaciones españolas con sus delirios da lugar a una serie de conceptos injuriosos para España y su Gobierno por lo que se considera que debe de ser suprimido en su totalidad. (Páginas 134-153). Con ello se considera que su publicación puede ser autorizada.

Some of the “injurious concepts” addressed to Spain and to Franco were pronounced by the Spanish officials, on the one hand, and by the captain of *Caliban* ship on the other. The Spanish censors underlined the phrases and sentences they considered threatening such as:

Durante el almuerzo el *Caliban* se había detenido, y habían subido a bordo oficiales españoles. Exigían que el barco entrara en el puerto de Algeciras para revisar la carga y los pasajeros. Los dos militares estaban indignados con el general Franco y hacían uso y abuso de ‘Dictador de hojalata’, ‘Hitler de pacotilla’, ‘gallego’, ‘muñeco manejado por los curas’ y otros epítetos igualmente despectivos. También atacaban con dureza al gobierno inglés que estaba dispuesto a venderse [...]. En perfecto inglés explicaron cómo personalmente encontraban antipáticas las órdenes que tenían que cumplir [...].

- Eso es piratería -dijo el capitán Steerforth, -chantaje.
- No podemos permitir esos términos tratándose del jefe del Estado.

(Waugh, 1972, pp. 134, 35, 37)⁶⁸

⁶⁸ The original version of this translation: “During luncheon the *Caliban* had hove to and Spanish officials had come on board. They were demanding that the ship put into Algeciras for an examination of cargo and passengers. The two Generals were incensed against General Franco and made free use of ‘tin-pot dictator’, ‘twopenny-halfpenny Hitler’, ‘dago’, ‘priest-ridden puppet’, and similar opprobrious epithets. They also spoke contemptuously of the British government who were prepared to ‘truckle’ to him [...]. In excellent English, they explained, how deeply repugnant they, personally, found the orders they had to carry out [...]. ‘Piracy,’ said captain Steerforth, ‘blackmail’. ‘We cannot allow such language about the head of the State’ (Waugh, 2014, pp. 44-45).

The censors disqualified a complete chapter of the novel without clarifying whether they had authorized its publication. In “the resolution section”, they only wrote the date, 29 February 1972 and the word “tacho” which means “I delete”. The publishing house Alianza seemed to have refused the censors’ suggestions, as the novel was not published.

4.16 *A Tourist in Africa*

In 1959, Waugh visited Central Africa, more precisely Kenya, Rhodesia and Tanganyika. He portrayed these countries in his travel book *A Tourist in Africa*, published in 1960. Waugh described the culture, the people, the landscape and the history of the regions he visited. The author set out on a journey to the African Continent in order to escape from the cold season in England. He travelled by train from Paris to Genoa, Italy, where he spent some agreeable days with his friend called “Mrs Stitch” (Waugh, 1985, p. 12). On 31 January, Waugh set sail to Aden on board of the ship “Rodhesia Castle” (p. 21). This was a modern ship with a swimming-pool, cinema screen, a library and loudspeakers, which informed the passengers about “geographical and meteorological information from the bridge” and “news of the ship’s recreations” (pp. 23-24). On 8 February, the ship anchored off Steamer Point in Eden where it stayed until midnight. Waugh noticed that Eden had grown green since the last time he visited it and modernized, as “water had at last been struck and piped” and there were “taps and water-closets in the settlement” (p. 28). On 13 February, Waugh reached Mombasa, which was a town used mainly as a port and rail-head

(p. 45). From Mombasa, Waugh drove away to Kibo, and crossed the frontier from Kenia into Tanganyika, where he could admire the summit of Kilimanjaro (p. 50). The author spent five days in that region of East Africa, and on 18 February sailed to Tanga. There, he visited an Arab town called Pangani, which he found lively, with its walls covered with vivid paintings representing the local life - dancers, animals, Indians, white men or natives of various tribes (p. 53). Waugh enjoyed this picturesque town and recommended it to the tourists. On 19 February the ship anchored in Zanzibar and on 20 February in Dar-es-Salaam. Waugh's tour proceeded to Kilwas islands, then to Rhodesia where he visited Ndola, situated at south-east of Mbeya. Waugh's journey continued to Umtali, Zimbabwe and Salisbury. From Salisbury he took the plane to Cape Town where he embarked on board of the ship "Pendennis Castle" in order to get back home on 27 March. Waugh travelled comfortably on board of this ship, which he found "spacious, ingeniously planned and brightly decorated", staffed by stewards more experienced than those of the Rhodesia Castle (p. 155). On 10 April, Waugh reached Southampton port in the early morning (p. 156).

Waugh's journey to Africa was well received in Spain, as it was authorised by the censorship department in 1964, 1968, 1970 and 1976. On 23 March 1964, the publishing house Plaza & Janes distributed 3,000 copies in Spain of *Un turista en Africa*. The censor explained in a report that the diary did not enclose "unfavourable notes", as it recounted a journey to the unexplored Africa:

No unfavourable note could be adverted in the reading of these traveling memories to the unexplored jungles of Africa. In this diary, the exotic places visited by passengers are described, being contrasted with the customs of civilised regions. (File 1678/64)⁶⁹

On 12 September 1968, Círculo de Lectores requested permission to put 5,000 copies into circulation priced at 84 pesetas each. The censors' report specified that the work could circulate, yet it did not provide a detailed account on the theme of the book. On 26 September 1970, Plaza & Janés solicited again authorization to publish *Un turista en Africa*. This edition was authorised, and 3,000 copies were distributed and sold at 150 pesetas each. In July 1976, Plaza & Janés intended to publish a further 3,000 copies of the travel book, yet this time priced at 325 pesetas each. This edition was also approved. Thus, *Un turista en Africa* was positively received by the censors, and a total of 14,000 copies were distributed throughout the country.

⁶⁹ "Ninguna nota desfavorable se advierte en la lectura de estas memorias de un viaje de las selvas inexploradas del Africa, en una expedición científica. En el diario de la exploración se ven anotando cuidadosamente todos los exotismos captados por los viajeros, en contraste con las costumbres de los núcleos civilizados con los que a veces establecen contacto".

5 WAUGH'S NOVELS UNDER THE ROMANIAN CENSORSHIP SYSTEM

5.1 *A Handful of Dust*

A Handful of Dust was one of the novels revised by the Romanian censors. Unfortunately, a censorship file on this novel could not be located at The Romanian National Archives. Nonetheless, the censors' response regarding this work could be found at one of the most representative cultural institution, which is the Library of the Romanian Academy. This library guarded a translation of Nelly Mătăsară entitled *Un pumn de țărână* published by Forum in 1945. Mătăsară was the first translator interested in Waugh. More information about this translator could not be found, nonetheless, her surname coincides with the surname of the translator Renée Annie Cassian-Mătăsară, daughter of the Jewish translator of universal literature Iosif Cassian-Mătăsară. Renée Annie Cassian-Mătăsară worked under different pseudonyms, such as Maria Veniamin, since 1944, when she debuted as translator (Berca, 2014). After 1944, she continued to use more pseudonyms (Apostu, 2011, p. 184). She was a poet, journalist and university professor. In 1985 she travelled to the United States as a visiting professor at the New York University. While in New York, her friend Gheorghe Ursu, a poet who opposed the Ceaușescu government, was arrested by the Securitate. Among Ursu's documents, the Securitate found some unpublished poems by Cassian in which she satirized the Ceaușescu regime. Cassian could not return to Romania, and she was granted asylum in the United States, where she lived until 2014 when she passed away (Fox, 2014).

The translation of *A Handful of Dust* by Mătășaru was not welcomed by the censors, as they requested the librarians to enclose the novel in the documentary fund. Librarians introduced into the documentary and secret fund all the publications that the censors from GDPP ordered. The registration card of this translation was signed with the letter “D” for documentary, and the book was probably returned to the public in 1990, after the fall of the communist regime.

Probably, censors might have applied two of the norms enclosed in the note regarding the instructions of book selections from libraries issued in the period 1950-55⁷⁰. The first norm stated that cosmopolitan books ought to be introduced in the documentary fund. The second pointed out that translations from the Anglo-American literature from 1920-1945 should be guarded in the secret fund (as cited in Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, pp. 260-261). Being a translation from English literature, censors might have introduced it in the secret fund, nonetheless, they might also have considered it a cosmopolitan work, which portrayed a modern society where people could easily get a divorce and travel to Amazonia, like Tony Last, and they finally decided to keep it in the documentary fund.

Years later, in 1969, *A Handful of Dust* was translated again by Dan Hurmuzescu into *Un pumn de țărână*. Hurmuzescu was not only a translator, but also a well-known writer of history books, such as *Socialist democracy: principles*

⁷⁰ The note regarding the instructions of book selection from libraries issued in the period 1950-55 was already detailed in the second chapter of this doctorate.

and political action in Romania co-authored with Ioan Ceterchi and published in 1975 by Meridiane. The edition of 1969 of *A Handful of Dust* was included in a collection alongside *The Loved One* translated by Hurmuzescu into *Preaiubita* and published by Editura pentru Literatură. This publication seemed to have been approved by the censors, as these two translations were not introduced into the documentary or secret fund. The registration card and the first pages of the translation are not signed with the letter “D” for documentary nor “S” for secret. By 1969 when the novel was published, the derrusification process had already concluded, being sealed by the “Declaration of Independence” from the Soviet power issued in April 1964. The independence from the Soviet power increased the economic and cultural relationships with the West. Romania was allowed to join the PEN (The International Association of Poets, Essayists and Novelists), being initially declared anti-communist (Fischer, 1989, p. 62). The fact that the communist regime was more permissive after gaining the autonomy of the URSS might have influenced the censors in their decision to approve the novel. Another factor that could have affected the censor’s decision was the Prague Spring in 1968, when Ceaușescu declared against the Soviet action in Czechoslovakia. In that period, Communism proved to be more flexible (Sandru, 2012, p. 67). Ceaușescu called for creative freedom, which involved exchanges of opinions and diversity of forms, and he implied that Western and Romanian literature and art should replace the Soviet model (Fischer, 1982, p. 149). Ceaușescu also accentuated the need of ideological militance and pointed out his own view of instrumental activity, meaning that artists have the responsibility to support the socialist development (Fischer, 1984, p. 149). Thus, Ceaușescu allowed the

contact with the Western literature, nonetheless “within the limits established by the party” (Fischer, 1984, p. 150).

5.2 *Black Mischief*

The trace of the trajectory of *Black Mischief* in communist Romania represented a difficult task. In order to discover whether the novel was submitted to censorship and approved or rejected by the censors, an extensive research was required at the Romanian National Archives and also at the Library of the Romanian Academy. The censorship files held at the National Archives in the fund of the Committee for Press and Print do not contain reports on *Black Mischief*. This lack of information could be justified by two factors. On the one hand, *Black Mischief* might not have been requested by private or public institutions such as libraries; thus, the censors did not receive the novel, and they did not write a report. On the other hand, a censorship file on the novel might have been registered in the fund of the Committee for Press and Print and subsequently destroyed. Many of the censorship files guarded in this fund were eliminated, as Corobca (2014, p. 63) explained in *Instituția cenzurii comuniste în România*.

Although the National Archives did not provide a censorship file, which could testify whether *Black Mischief* was accepted in Romania, the Library of the Romanian Academy gave statement of the entrance of the novel in the country. Two English editions of *Black Mischief* were registered in this library. The first edition dated from 1932 published by Chapman and Hall while the second was

printed by Albatros Modern Continental in 1933. The library records did not specify the exact date when these books entered this institution. It is possible that the editions of 1932-33 might have been registered before 1951 when the secret and documentary funds were founded, since both editions were included in the documentary fund.⁷¹

As consequence, the access to *Black Mischief* was restricted. Ordinary readers could not read the novel, as it was not registered within the regular registration cards. Thus, only through special authorization, readers such as scientists, scholars, the regime representatives and members of the GDPP could have access to the novel. The registration card of the 1932 edition was marked with the letter “D”, which proved that the novel was considered dangerous for the general public and introduced into the documentary fund. The letter “D” was not written only on the registration card, but also on the hardcover and on the first pages of the novel. This letter was associated to the registration number, 52736. The registration card of the edition published by Albatros in 1933 was not signed with the letter “D”. Nonetheless, as well as the edition of 1932, the first pages of the 1933 edition were marked with the letter “D” and with a registration number, which was 10308. These two editions were probably returned to the public in 1990, when the books guarded in the secret and documentary funds were liberated.

⁷¹ Liliana Corobca (2014, p. 79) explained in *Controlul cărții* that the secret and documentary funds were founded in 1951.

The reasons that induced the librarians to introduce *Black Mischief* into the documentary fund are difficult to understand. A note regarding the instructions on book selection, delivered in the period 1950-55, would hardly classify the novel in one of the categories included in the documentary library. Thus, *Black Mischief* would not be considered a classic novel, science or history book, military material or Marxist sociological and decadent work. However, the novel could be included in the categories of “cosmopolitan works” and “democratic books”⁷². First, the novel might be catalogued cosmopolitan because Waugh portrayed the life of the African, English and French characters among others. Second, it could be judged as democratic on the account of the modernization process that the Emperor and Basil Seal, the Minister of Modernization, intended to implement in Azania and transform it into a modern, democratic country. Nonetheless, this modernization measures could also be interpreted as a colonization process since the Emperor planned to introduce the system of the Western countries. Thus, once the Western cultures were established in Azania, then the country would be colonised. Hence, *Black Mischief* could have been assessed as cosmopolitan or democratic, or it might have been simply considered a novel with “a dangerous content”⁷³, and for this reason librarians guarded it in the documentary fund. It should also be mentioned that during the communist regime *Black Mischief* was never translated into Romanian.

⁷² See Costea, Király, Radosav (1995, pp. 260-61), *Fond Secret. Fond “S” Special*.

⁷³ See Costea, Király, Radosav (1995, p. 261), *Fond Secret. Fond “S” Special*.

5.3 *Scoop*

In *Scoop*, Waugh referred to fascists and to communists, placing the communists in a rather negative position, since the Soviet regime was not successful in the novel. Therefore, it could be thought that the novel would have been censored in Romania. In order to determine whether *Scoop* was negatively or positively received by the Romanian censors, the censorship files allocated in the fund of the Committee of Press and Print and the registration cards provided by the Library of the Romanian Academy should be analysed. Hence, the censorship file 10/1962 revealed that the writer Sergiu Fărcășan bought from the French library called Hachette a translation of *Scoop* entitled *Sensation!* The censor had to analyse the content of the novel in order to mail it to Fărcășan. The censorship file issued on 9 July 1962 enclosed a summary of the novel and highlighted the participation of the Soviet Union, Germany, Italy and Japan in the conflict described in the novel. The censor selected and translated into Romanian some paragraphs, which referred to fascists and communists:

The armed conflict imagined by the author develops “somewhere” in an African country and implied USSR, Germany, Italy, Japan... Page 46: “I gather it’s a war between the Reds and the Blacks. But it’s not quite as easy as that. You see they are all Negroes. And the fascists won’t be called black because of their racial pride, so they are called white after the white Russians. And the Bolsheviks want to be called black because of their

racial pride. So, when you say black you mean red, and when you mean red you say white". Page 65.

The author allows to a black patriot who represents a war camp in Africa to say the following: "the Ishmaelite worker is threatened by corrupt and foreign coalition of capitalist exploiters, priests and imperialists. As that great Negro Karl Marx has so nobly written". The representative of the other fascist camp says: Page 55: "for instance, the Jews subsidized by Russian Gold had spread the story that we are a black race". Page 105: "there is a Russian here, named Smerdyakev, a Jew straight from Moscow disguised as a ticket collector". (File 10/1962)

The file does not include the final decision of the censor; thus, it is difficult to determine whether the novel was mailed to Fărcășan. A note supplied by the censorship department in July 1962 enclosed in file 10/1962 could clarify what the final destination of *Sensation!* was. This note included the norms, which regulated the publications destined to scholars, scientists, and personalities of the cultural sector. These publications were classified in three categories. The first category included the specialized material such as linguistic, technical, etc. considered unproblematic from a political point of view. The second category referred to all the books and magazines that contained hostile anti-communist passages, but such passage would not classify the whole material as anti-communist. Such type of materials was handed to the addressee by the leaders of the institutions. Finally, the third category enclosed material with anti-

communist orientation, which classified the whole material as anti-communist. The difference between the second and the third category is that in the second, material might have some anti-communist references, nonetheless, on the whole, it could not be considered anti-communist. On the other hand, the third category includes material with anti-communist references, however, when analysed, the material could be considered anti-communist. Such material could not be handed to the recipient, as it was prohibited. Now, the question is in which of these categories would *Scoop* fit. Clearly, the norms of the first and the third section are not applicable to *Scoop*. On the one hand, *Scoop* would not fit in the first category because the novel does not specialise in linguistics or other areas. On the other hand, the norms of the third category are not applicable either, since *Scoop* has anti-communist references, however the novel, as a whole, is not anti-communist.

Thus, judging the censor's selection of paragraphs, the novel could be regulated by the norms of the second category. The novel includes anti-communist aspects, nonetheless, its orientation is not anti-communist. The censor selected a paragraph where both fascists and communists were called racists for refusing to be considered black: "You see they are all Negroes. And the fascists won't be called black because of their racial pride, so they are called white after the white Russians" (File 10/1962). This connection between the fascists, enemies of Romanian Communism, and the soviets, may be considered a menace for the communist regime. Nonetheless, the fact that the fascists and Russians were called racists lacks significance, since this statement was given by Mr Salter, the editor of *The Beast* who ignored the circumstances of the war in Ishmaelia. Mr Salter informed William Boot that the war was given between

“the Patriots” and “the Traitors” represented by fascists and Russians, but he could not specify who was who. In another paragraph selected by the censor, Karl Marks was called Negro: “As that great Negro Karl Marx has so nobly written” (File 10/1962). Probably, calling Karl Marx a Negro might have offended the communist ideology; nevertheless, the text clarified that when “you say black you mean red”; therefore, Negro Karl Marx would mean Red Karl Marx.

Censors might have identified both positive and negative aspects, which would influence in their decision regarding the destination of the novel. An important aspect of the text that the censor would find positive is the attack on the capitalists, priests and imperialists: “the Ishmaelite worker is threatened by the corrupt and foreign coalition of capitalist exploiters, priests and imperialists” (File 10/1962). Communists were against capitalism, the church as well as imperialism, consequently this reference would be approved by the censors. Considering that the report, on the one side identified the enemies of the communists, and on the other side the supporters of Communism as the communist militant Karl Marx, it could be supposed that the novel might have been finally approved and handed to Sergiu Fărcășan. Nonetheless, Karl Marx was called negro and Communism was unsuccessful in *Scoop*, thus the novel might have not been mailed to Fărcășan.

Although the novel reached Sergiu Fărcășan or not, it did not reach the rest of the Romanian readers, since it was introduced into the documentary fund. The Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest allocated an original edition of *Scoop* published in 1933 by Chapman and Hall. The registration card of the novel, as well as the first pages were marked with the letter “D”, to which was

added a registration number 12859. In this edition the year of registration in the library, 1951 was also noted. Considering the instructions on book selection issued in 1950-51, which regulated the books that should be introduced into the secret and documentary funds, *Scoop* would not fit in any of the categories provided by these instructions. Unlike *Black Mischief*, *Scoop* could not be considered a democratic or cosmopolitan work. They probably catalogued the novel dangerous, because Communism was not treated as a triumphant ideology. When the president Jackson from Alabama was captured, the African state Ishmaelia became a Soviet State whose capital was called Marxville (Waugh, 2000, pp. 192-201), though, the Soviet regime immediately collapsed, since President Jackson was released and Ishamelia was freed (Waugh, 2000, p. 201). Thus, the Soviet regime was not perdurable, a fact that the communist censor would disapprove of. *Scoop* was not translated into Romanian during the communist period.

5.4 *Vile Bodies*

An edition of *Vile Bodies* published in 1930 in New York by Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith was registered at the Library of the Academy. This edition, as most of Waugh's works, was introduced in the documentary fund registered with the letter "D" alongside the number 49374. It is difficult to determine whether the letter "D" was ever written on the registration card, since the librarians employed a pencil. Thus, in 1990 when the books kept in the documentary and secret funds were returned to the public, the librarians easily erased the letters "D" and "S", which bared proof of the existence of the secret fund. Fortunately, these letters were also written in ink on the first pages of the books considered dangerous, thus they could not be erased.

Censors might have considered *Vile Bodies* dangerous probably for mentioning the practice of censorship in England, which had a lot in common with the Romanian censorship. Therefore, the English customs officers behaved like the Romanian representatives of GDPP. They registered the luggage of all the passengers, and they confiscated all books considered subversive, a practice that Romanian authority exerted since the Soviets had reached power. Thus, when Adam Symes disembarked from a ship, he was forced to declare the luggage he was carrying. The customs officer disapproved and retained Adam's books including an autobiography that he was about to publish. The officer informed Adam that the autobiography seemed like propaganda and ought to be burned:

‘I’ve nothing but some very old clothes and some books,’ he said. [...] ‘Books, eh?’ he said. ‘And what sort of books, may I ask?’ ‘Look for yourself.’ [...] But as for this autobiography, that’s just downright dirt, and we burns that straight away, see.’ ‘But, good heavens, there isn’t a word in the book – you must be misinterpreting it.’ ‘Not so much of it. I knows dirt when I sees it or I shouldn’t be where I am to-day.’ ‘But do you realize that my whole livelihood depends on this book?’ ‘And my livelihood depends on stopping works like this coming into the country. (Waugh, 2012, pp. 55-56)

A note enclosed in the censorship file 9/1962 reveals that Romanian censors practiced the censorship activity at the customs points similar to the activity described by Waugh in *Vile Bodies*. According to this note issued on 5 January 1962, the GDPP representatives had to control all the packages which entered the customs points, mainly those coming from capitalist countries. Censors were interested in finding all sorts of publications like books and discs. Those materials with inappropriate content had to be sent to the institutions which held secret funds. All provocative publications with an anti-communist and anti-Soviet character were confiscated. All material that praised the Western life style as well as pornographic publications would be returned to the sender. Thus, the Romanian censors, like the British customs officers, controlled the entrance into the country of all types of publications, and they confiscated the material they considered dangerous. *Vile Bodies*, a novel about bright young people, free to behave as they wanted, enjoying all sort of parties, depicted a free and colourful

world that would contradict the communist propaganda against the West. The West supposed to be “poor and suffering and people were unemployed and not able to afford the bare necessities; if it had not been for the food that Romania exported to them, the West would have starved” (Sandru, 2012, p. 116).

5.5 *Decline and Fall*

Decline and Fall was one of the novels accepted by the Romanian censors. The Library of the Romanian Academy held a translation of this novel by Petre Solomon entitled *Declin și prăbușire* published in 1968 by Editura pentru Literatură Universală. Solomon was a writer and a valued translator who was granted *The Writers' Union Award for Translations* in 1982. Among his works could be identified *Mark Twain sau aventurile umorului* (1958) (*Mark Twain or the Adventures of the Humour*) and *John Milton* (1962). Apart from Waugh, Solomon translated works by writers like William Shakespeare, Mark Twain, George Gordon Byron, Graham Greene Joseph Conrad, Charles Dickens, Walter Scott, Percy Bysshe Shelley and John Milton. Solomon's translation of *Decline and Fall* was submitted to censorship on 12 October 1967. The censors considered the novel to be “bun de tipar” (good for print) and authorised it on 12 February 1968. Accordingly, the printer from Bucharest called “13 Decembrie 1918” printed 30,160 copies, which were distributed to libraries throughout the country.

The novel seemed to have been successful in Romania. The translation faithfully followed the original, and censors did not find it threatening for the

communist values. Moral matters such as the employment of young women to practice prostitution seemed inoffensive for the Romanian censors. They probably focused only on political aspects, which would compromise the communist regime. *Decline and Fall* was rather a social satire; thus, anti-communist or pro-fascist factors were not discussed.

5.6 *The Loved One*

The Loved One was translated into Romanian by Dan Hurmuzescu and published in 1969 alongside the translation of *A Handful of Dust* by Editura pentru Literatură Universală. This novel about the mortuary customs in the United States was approved by the Romanian censors. The work was not introduced in the documentary fund; thus, it was guarded in the free library in order to be read by ordinary readership. The censor's positive reception of this novel is surprising, since according to the instructions of book selection issued in 1950-55, translations from Anglo-American literature were introduced into the secret fund. A censorship file on *The Loved One*, which would clarify the censor's decision, could not be located at the Romanian National Archives in Bucharest.

A possible explanation of the positive reception of this novel could be given by the fact that in 1969, the communist regime was more flexible, since by that time it was freed from the Soviet power. This relaxation of the regime initiated earlier, in 1963, a year before the Declaration of Independence was signed (Fischer, 1989, p. 63). During 1963, books, plays and films from Britain, the United States, France and Italy were allowed into the country. In 1964, the Writer's Union accepted "anti-bourgeois literature", which included authors like Joyce, Kafka and Proust (p. 62). Thus, if the regime tolerated the import of books from Britain and the United States, then it might have approved *The Loved One* as a proof of the regime's determination of establishing cultural relations with the West.

6 CURRENT RECEPTION OF EVELYN WAUGH

6.1 Waugh's Reception in Spain after Franco's Regime

After Franco's death in 1975, Waugh's fiction raised interest and most of his works were repeatedly translated analysed and reviewed by scholars and journalists. Only few works were not known in Spain, like the biographies of *Rossetti: His life and Works* and *Ronald Knox* (1959) as well as the travel book *Waugh in Abyssinia*, nonetheless, these works could be found in original version in the libraries of Spanish universities. The translations of Waugh's most famous novels and travel writings will be included in the table below. Works are introduced in this table by the order in which Waugh wrote them:

TITLE	PUBLISHING YEAR	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE
<i>Decline and Fall</i> (<i>Decadencia y caída</i>)	1984, 1986	Floreál Mazía	Anagrama, Barcelona
<i>Vile Bodies</i> (<i>Cuerpos viles</i>)	1990	Floreál Mazía	Anagrama, Barcelona
	2003		Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona
<i>Labels: A Mediterranean</i>	2002	Jordi Fibla Feito	Península, Barcelona

<i>Journal (Etiquetas: Viaje por el Mediterráneo)</i>	2011		RBA, Barcelona
<i>Remote People (Gente remota)</i>	2003	Paula García Manchon	Ediciones del Viento, La Coruña
	2009		Debolsillo, Barcelona
<i>Black Mischief (Merienda de negros)</i>	1985, 1990, 2008	Juan García Puente	Anagrama, Barcelona
	2005		Cahoba Promociones y Ediciones, Barcelona
<i>Scoop (¡Noticia bomba!: novela de periodistas)</i>	1985, 1990, 1988, 1997, 2014	Antonio Mauri	Anagrama, Barcelona
	2002, 2013		Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona
	2003		El País, Madrid
<i>Ninety-Two Days (Noventa y dos días)</i>	2005	Manuel Piñon and Paula Pascual	Ediciones del Viento, La Coruña
<i>A Handful of Dust (Un puñado de polvo)</i>	1985	Josefina Gaínza	Alianza, Madrid

	1995, 1998	Carlos Manzano	Espasa-Calpe, Madrid
	2009		RBA, Barcelona
<i>Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr (Edmund Campion)</i>	2009	Ignacio Peyró	Homo Legens, Madrid
<i>Robbery Under Law (Robo al amparo de la ley)</i>	2008	F. José Mampara	Homo Legens, Madrid
<i>Work Suspended (Obra suspendida)</i>	2009	María Maestro Cuadrado	Treviana Ediciones
<i>Put Out More Flags (¡luzad más banderas!)</i>	2012	Carlos Villar Flor	RBA, Barcelona
<i>Work Suspended and Other Stories (Cuentos completos)</i>	2000	Jaime Zulaika	Debolsillo,
	2011	Luis Murillo Fort	RBA, Barcelona
<i>Brideshead Revisited (Retorno a Brideshead)</i>	1982	Caroline Phipps	Argos Vegara, Barcelona
	1983		Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona
	1987, 1990, 1993, 1998, 1996, 2008, 2010, 2015		Tusquets, Barcelona

	1992, 1995, 2000		RBA, Barcelona
<i>Scott King's Modern Europe</i> (<i>Neutralia: la Europa moderna de Scott-King</i>)	2009	Carlos Villar Flor	Menoscuarto, Palencia
<i>The Loved One</i> (<i>Los seres queridos</i>)	1983	Helena Valentí	Argos Vergara, Barcelona
	1986		Seix Barral, Barcelona
	1990		Anagrama, Barcelona
	1999		Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona
<i>Helena (Elena)</i>	1990, 2006	Pedro Lecuona	Edhasa, Barcelona,
	1996, 1997		Altaya, Barcelona
	1998		Salvat, Barcelona
	2003		Planeta-De Agostini, Barcelona
	2005		El País, Madrid

<i>Men at Arms</i> (<i>Hombres en armas</i>)	2003	Carlos Villar Flor	Cátedra, Madrid
<i>The Holy Places</i> (<i>Viajes a los santos lugares</i>)	2011	Ignacio Peyró	Elba, Barcelona
<i>Officers and Gentlemen</i> (<i>Oficiales y caballeros</i>)	2010	Carlos Villar Flor	Cátedra, Madrid
<i>The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold</i> (<i>La prueba de fuego de Gilbert Pinfold</i>)	2007	Miguel Martínez-Lage	Homo Legens, Madrid
<i>A tourist in Africa</i> (<i>Un turista en Africa</i>)	1976	Ferrer-Aleu	Plaza & Janés, Barcelona
<i>Unconditional Surrender</i> (<i>Rendición incondicional</i>)	2011	Carlos Villar Flor, Gabriel Insausti Herrero-Velarde	Cátedra, Madrid
<i>A Little Learning</i> (<i>Una educación incomplete</i>)	2009	Miguel Martínez-Lage	Libros del Asteroide, Barcelona
	2007		Debolsillo, Barcelona
"Incident in Azania" (<i>"Incidente en Azania"</i>)	1983	Jaime Zulaika	Argos Vergara, Barcelona

This table reveals the publication of a wide variety of genres, such as travel books, autobiographies, short stories, and the most published genre, novels. Therefore, almost all of Waugh's travel books were translated and published, except for *Waugh in Abyssinia* and *When the Going was Good*. The remaining, *Labels*, *Remote People*, *Ninety-Two Days*, *Robbery Under Law*, *The Holy Places* were all published during the 2000s while *A Tourist in Africa* was lately published in 1976. Waugh's autobiography *A Little Learning* was published twice, in 2007 and 2009 by two publishing houses, Libros del Asteroide and Debolsillo. Some of Waugh's stories like "Incident in Azania" and his novella *Scott-King's Modern Europe* were published in 1983 and 2009 by Argos Vergara and Menoscuarto.

Undoubtely, the works that rose most interest were Waugh's novels. Since the 1980s, his well-known novels were repeatedly published, like *Decline and Fall*, *Black Mischief*, *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop*, *The Loved One*, *Brideshead Revisited* and *Helena*. Some of these were printed by various publishing houses; *A Handful of Dust* was edited by Alianza, Espasa-Calpe and RBA; *The Loved One* by Argos Vergara, Seix Barral, Anagrama, and Círculo de Lectores. *Helena* was another novel printed by several publishing houses, like E.D.H.A.S.A, Altaya, Salvat, Planeta-De Agostini and El País. Waugh's most famous novel, *Brideshead Revisited*, was published in the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s by Argos Vergara, Círculo de Lectores, Tusquets and RBA. Pobably the success of *Brideshead Revisited* was fomented by the adaptation of the novel in 1981 to an eleven-episode serial produced in England by Granada Television, directed by Charles Sturridge and starring Jeremy Irons and Anthony Andrews. In Spain, the serial was first screened in 1983 for a few months on a secondary television

(Segunda Cadena) network of TVE (Spanish Television). This television network had little audience, and the serial was not successful, as it was mentioned in the article “‘Retorno a Brideshead’ ahora en la primera cadena” (“‘Brideshead Revisited’ Now on a prime Television Network”) published in *El País* on 1 July 1984. However, the serial was broadcasted again on prime television of TVE (Primera Cadena), during the summer of 1984, on Friday nights enjoying a high audience rating.

The translators of Waugh's work were representative figures of the Spanish culture, such as Helena Valentí, a Catalan bourgeois, and translator of *The Loved One*. Valentí graduated philology at the University of Barcelona in 1962 and presented her doctoral thesis at Cambridge (Associó d'escriptors en llengua catalana n. d.). She wrote a series of novels like *L'amor adult* (1977) and translated authors, such as Virginia Woolf, Graham Greene, Robert Graves and Lessing Doris. (Associó d'escriptors en llengua catalana n. d.). Jaime Zulaika, the translator of Waugh's short fiction, *Work Suspended and Other Stories* is a writer and translator of authors like Graham Greene, John le Carré, Rudyard Kipling and David Leavitt (Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia, 2017). A translator whose work was published by a series of publishing houses was Caroline Phipps, the translator of *Brideshead Revisited*. Phipps is also a writer of works like *More Easy Piano Classics (Usborne Learn to Play)* published in 1994. Carlos Villar Flor, an expert in Waugh's work, university professor and writer translated *Officers and Gentlemen* and *Unconditional Surrender*, two novels unavailable during the Francoist period. Villar also translated *Men at Arms*, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* and *Put Out More Flags*.

The broadcast of *Retorno a Brideshead* by the Spanish television might have positively influenced the reception of Waugh in Spain. Professor José Morales (2005), in the article “Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966): Una semblanza” (“Evelyn Waugh (1903-1966): Biographical Note”), stated that many Spanish people are still guarding in their memory the eleven episodes of the serial issued in 1984, which displayed “a singular power of evocation” and “remarkable portraits of characters” (p. 469). Morales acknowledged that Waugh was not well-known in Spain, however, the novelist became the object of a sort of literary reception caused by the television production of *Brideshead Revisited* and by a sudden interest in his biography and literary work, which had been already known by Western culture (p. 469).

Even though, professor Morales believed that Waugh was not famous in Spain before the emission of the television serial, he was well-known at least among journalists, who had made of Waugh a reference. For instance, in the article “Margaret Thatcher, un año al frente de los conservadores” (“Margaret Thatcher, a Year Leading the Conservatives”) published in *ABC* on 12 February 1976, Alonso Barra mentioned that Thatcher had to manage the rigid mechanism of the conservative party without holding the right tools to make it work (p. 36). In order to sustain the statement that the conservative party was not functioning appropriately, Barra cited Waugh who thought that the worst illness of this party was its inability to turn the clock back a few minutes (p. 36)⁷⁴. Furthermore, the

⁷⁴ The original version presented by Barra in *ABC*: “La señora Tatcher se encuentra así con un mecanismo político agarrotado y sin las herramientas para ponerlo en marcha

journalist and writer Carlos Luiz Álvarez, known as Cándido mentioned and cited Waugh every time he needed to underline a statement, such as in the article entitled “Un humorista” (A Humourist”), published in *ABC* on 25 February 1977. The journalist criticised the pro-Nazi marshal of Uganda Idi Amin, who seemed like one of Waugh’s characters, mainly when he went to London surrounded by ballerinas dancing to “the rhythm of tam-tam” (p. 17)⁷⁵.

In the early eighties, some Spanish journalists undertook a rather negative attitude toward Waugh. Ignacio Carrión, for example in the article “Waugh, Hemingway, Reed”, published on 22 May 1982 in *ABC*, declared that Waugh’s diaries and letters were welcomed by his readers with a “distrustful enthusiasm” (p. 51). Carrión thought that Waugh was a popular novelist as well as “trivial, sarcastic and malicious” whose readers expected to learn more about his “conflictive intimacy”, which revealed his homosexuality, Catholicism and obsession for money (p. 51). The journalist remarked that Waugh’s diaries lacked intellectual depth, amenity, passion as well as humour. However, these diaries were positively assessed by the English critics, as they disclosed the “English character”, which according to Carrión represented “a great façade with a poor interior” (p. 51). The journalist suggested that, once the mysteries of Waugh were

eficazmente. Evelyn Waugh decía que el mal del partido conservador es no lograr atrasar unos minutos el reloj”.

⁷⁵ Cándido, *ABC*: “Ir a Londres a dar lecciones rodeado de bailarinas semidesnudas que se mueven al ritmo del tam-tam es verdaderamente algo digno de Wodehouse o de Evelyn Waugh”.

exposed, the value of the author considerably decreased to such a level that there was nothing left (p. 51).

Pedro Crespo, in the article “Retorno a Evelyn Waugh” (“Return to Evelyn Waugh”) published in *ABC* on 24 January 1983, intended to identify Waugh’s faults and qualities. Crespo referred to the serial *Brideshead Revisited*, and introduced Waugh as “a great writer, corrosive humourist, intemperate drinker and perennial social disappointed” who died “undermined by drink, sedatives, insomnia and boredom” (p. 3). Crespo seemed to approve the theme of the Catholic religion presented in *Brideshead Revisited*, since he stated that the Catholic religion was the main agent that created the human character. Thus, people ought to live in accordance with the Catholic norms, as without such norms, they could “become a mere group of performers in a world transformed into a circus” (p. 3)⁷⁶. One of Waugh’s faults that Crespo disapproved of was his lack of social consciousness and reforming fervour. The journalist accused Waugh of mocking “the seriousness of the reformers” employing a criticism devoid of authenticity. The journalist concluded that *Brideshead Revisited* was going to be viewed by millions of spectators and hoped that “other unfortunately forgotten novels” by Waugh would be soon televised (p. 3).

Other unfortunately forgotten novels were not soon put on the screen, but *The Loved One* was translated into *Los seres queridos* and published by Argos

⁷⁶ Crespo: “Hallar la luz, la fe que se creía perdida, acaso muerta equivale a conformar la existencia con arreglo a sus normas. Sin ellas, el hombre no pasa de ser un náufrago perdido en la desolación cuando pasa de ser mero comparsa de un mundo convertido en pista de circo”.

Vergara in 1983. José María Alfaro dedicated an article to the novel entitled “Los seres queridos” published in *ABC* on 15 October 1983. Alfaro interpreted Waugh’s novels as a battle camp where the arms employed were irony and caustic satire. Waugh did not appeal to melancholy in his writing, but rather to “the irritating stirring rash and itches” (p. 47). Thus, Waugh irritated and drove situations and arguments to “the resistant walls of the absurd” (p. 47). After a large summary of the novel, Alfaro stated that *Los seres queridos* depicted “a society devoted to the creation of a mythology based on hedonism” (p. 47). The journalist seemed to appreciate Waugh, as he concluded that the novelist was “intelligent, sharp and brave” whose originality acted as a detonator (p.47).

Later, in 1985 *Scoop* was also translated into Spanish and published by Anagrama. The novel entitled *¡Noticia bomba!: novela de periodistas* was positively assessed by José Martín Abril in *ABC* on 27 July 1985. Abril declared that the translation of the title was ordinary and incorrect if considered the serious humour displayed in the novel. He also disliked that Waugh gained the fame of a humourist, because he considered that this fact was just a disastrous propaganda, which degraded Waugh. According to Abril, Waugh was not a simple comic, but more precisely a writer of “an excellent and absorbent human character” (p. 55). Therefore, Waugh “elevated the humour to the category of frenetic facts, and even to the anxieties of the mind, which could be intelligently disturbed or noticeably maddened” (p. 55)⁷⁷. Abril saw *Scoop* as a symphony of

⁷⁷ The original version of Abril’s statement: “Es, indiscutiblemente, un escritor de excelentes y absorbentes fibras humanas. Eleva los acentos de humor a la categoría de

nuances, colours, sounds and extravagancies, which revealed different motives and actions, landscapes, figures, ideas, laments and contradictions. The sarcasm, satire and insolence were highlighted, and the reader would enjoy the novel from the very beginning (p. 55). The journalist found the storyline uneven and trivial, yet most of the scenes were well constructed, thus the novel was worth reading.

If Abril appreciated Waugh, in another article, Valentí Puig demonstrated that “Nadie quiere a Evelyn Waugh” (“Nobody Loves Evelyn Waugh”). This article was published in *La Vanguardia* on 26 April 1988 and displayed the opinions of the English critics regarding a biography of Waugh written by Martin Stannard. Some scholars, like Conor Cruise O’Brien, believed that Waugh’s biography had no relation to literature and criticised Waugh because his humour did not pardon anything nor anybody (p. 50). Puig explained that professor O’Brien believed that the biography presented just the opposite of what it should: thus, if Waugh was not judged as a snob, the facts proved that he was a snob. According to O’Brien, data confirmed that Waugh was also a racist. Moreover, O’Brien criticised the novelist’s Catholicism, since Waugh declared that Christianity began in the Counter-Reformation, and this fact would situate Jesus Christ in a bad position (p. 50). Despite this criticism, Puig declared that the novelist could never be eclipsed by the gossiping of critics and biographers. The journalist concluded this article by mentioning that while others were interested in Waugh’s “harsh

hechos trepidantes, e incluso, a la nube de las inquietudes de la mente, tal vez inteligentemente perturbada o sensiblemente enloquecida”.

snobbism”, Spanish readers were looking forward to reading a translation of the trilogy *Sword of Honour*.

In 1989, a second film based on one of Waugh’s novels appeared. Charles Sturridge, the director of *Brideshead Revisited* produced in England in 1981, decided to also film *A Handful of Dust*. The producer participated with this new film in the Festival of Cinema in Barcelona in 1989. The protagonists were John Wilby, Kristin Scott Thomas, Rupert Grace, Angelica Huston and Alec Guinness. In the article “El realizador de ‘Retorno a Brideshead’ presenta su primer gran largometraje” (“The Producer of ‘Brideshead Revisited’ Presented his First Great Film”), published in *La Vanguardia* on 6 July 1989, Félix Flores presented an interview of Charles Sturridge. The producer mentioned that he chose Waugh, because the novelist was his favourite writer. Sturridge stated that in England adaptations were preferable to an original script, since they were easier to finance (p. 43). The most difficult task was to find an appropriate filmic language, which could conserve the style, construction and dramatic tension of the novel. Sturridge confessed that he would go to the United States, but it could be difficult to adapt to the working conditions in America. Flores maintained a neutral position regarding the film, though, he believed that Sturridge was a skilled producer.

In the nineties, Waugh was not forgotten by the Spanish press. In 1990, Edhasa edited a translation of *Helena* by Pedro Lecuona, and Valentí Puig published a review of the novel in *ABC* on 15 April 1990. Puig mentioned that for Waugh a piece of art implied intelligence, skill, taste, proportion, knowledge, discipline and dedication (p. 67). *Elena* embodied all these factors; thus, it was

considered a piece of art. Waugh thought that *Elena* was his masterpiece, and in a letter to Nancy Mitford, the novelist announced that nobody would like it (p. 67). Waugh was right, as English critics received the novel without much enthusiasm. Christopher Sikes, Waugh's friend and biographer, stated that the lack of success of *Helena* represented one of Waugh's greatest disappointments. In Spain, *Helena* was successful, as it first reached the readers in 1955, and later in the 1990s and 2000s. A series of translations by Pedro Lecuona were published by Altaya, Salvat, Planeta- De Agostini and El País.

On 6 November 1992, Penelope Fitzgerald published a review of Martin Stannard's biography entitled *Evelyn Waugh: The Later Years (1939-1966)* in *ABC*. This biography introduced Waugh's war experiences. Fitzgerald explained that Waugh intended to fight alongside his aristocratic friends because they could understand him, even though they had never loved him (p. 23). Stannard stated that Waugh's ability to hurt represented the main source of his comedy. Nonetheless, Fitzgerald observed that, actually, the source of his tragedy and comedy was rather provided by his experience of being hurt. Fitzgerald noted that Stannard was not coherent in his description of Laura, Waugh's wife. First, the critic compared her with Mrs. Jellyby of Dickens, a mother who neglected her children. Second, Stannard mentioned that Laura was always trying to calm Waugh's anger towards his children (p. 23). Stannard concluded that Waugh died as he lived, alone. Fitzgerald refuted this statement, since despite Waugh's difficult character, he always had a friend around, and his family always loved him (p. 23).

Spanish journalists seemed to be interested in Waugh's life, as on 2 November 1994, another review of a biography on Waugh was published in *La Vanguardia*. Rafael Ramos presented the Spanish readers Selina Hastings' biography entitled *Evelyn Waugh: A Biography*. Ramos considered that Waugh was known as one of the greatest stylists of the twentieth century, "and also as a monster, a man with a bitter character, who seemed to be possessed by the devil" displaying a sarcastic humour, which would destroy the fiercest enemy (p. 42). Ramos explained that Hastings focused not only on the dark side of Waugh, but also on the generous, human, occasionally romantic and affectionate Waugh (p. 42). Ramos underlined that Waugh's expression of noble feelings was just an exception, as his harsh character used to overcome such feelings (p. 42). According to Hastings, Waugh's bad temper emerged on account of an unhappy childhood and on his first wife's betrayal. As a child, Waugh noted his father's preference for his brother Alec, and Waugh's immediate response was a hostile reaction towards the people he met (p. 42). Hastings mentioned that as well as Green, Waugh converted to Catholicism, yet unlike Green, who abandoned his wife to find God in the cheap brothels of the Third World, Waugh decided to retire alongside his wife Laura to the countryside, far from the vices of the city. In the village, Waugh dedicated to criticising the corruption of progress, the liberalism and the modern world (p. 42). Ramos concluded that the biography of Hastings did not abuse of literary criticism and connected events of Waugh's novels with episodes of his real life (p. 42).

In the 1990s not only journalists showed interest in Waugh, but also scholars like Manuel Megías Rosa who published in the *Revista Alicantina de*

Estudios Ingleses the article "Imposture in *Decline and Fall*". Megías (1990) analysed the characters in the novel and the position occupied by each focusing on the "theme of imposture", since most of the characters seemed to occupy a place that did not belong to them (p. 113). Paul Pennyfeather followed a circular trajectory which went from Oxford to Llanabba School, Mayfair in London, two prisons and, finally, back to Oxford (p. 114). Megías compared this circular movement to a play in three acts "whose main settings were a Secondary School in Wales, an elegant district in London and a prison, besides a college in Oxford, the town of Marseille and the island of Corfú as secondary settings" (p. 114).

Throughout the novel, Pennyfeather occupied positions that did not belong to him. First, he was accused of indecent behaviour, second, he became a teacher without being trained to practice this profession, and, third, he was accused of white slave trafficking and sent to prison (p. 114). He was guilty neither of indecent behaviour nor slave trafficking, however he paid for it. At Llanaba School, Paul's colleagues Grimes and Prendergast were not authentic teachers either. Prendergast was a clergyman who worked as a rector of a church, which he abandoned because of "doubts", and Grimes was a character of questionable reputation who had had different jobs before becoming a teacher (pp. 114-115). Megías compared the novel with *Crome Yellow* by Aldous Huxley, which like *Decline and Fall* depicted the society of the 1920s. The scholar stated that Lady Circumference's corpulence reminds one of Pricilla Winbush's coiffures, and Pennyfeather seemed like Dennis Stone. Megías explained that with *Crome Yellow* Huxley won the antipathy of some friends and even relatives who recognised themselves in the novel. This did not happen with *Decline and*

Fall, as characters were “less convincing” (p. 120). Megías clarified that Waugh’s characters did not actually represent real people. They praised the appearance and occupied a place that did not belong to them, thus they behaved as impostors (p. 120).

In the twenty first century Waugh’s figure continued to be discussed, debated and analysed by Spanish journalists and by academics. During the commemoration of Waugh’s centenary in 2003, The University La Rioja celebrated a conference on 15-17 May. As a result of this event, Professor Carlos Villar Flor and Robert Murray Davis in 2005 published *Waugh without End. New Trends in Evelyn Waugh’s Studies*. The book comprised a collection of essays, which debated Waugh’s religious, political and social views. Part of these essays were signed by representatives in Waugh’s studies such as Robert Murray Davis who analysed the audience of Waugh in “Evelyn Waugh’s Audiences” and Donat Gallagher who focused on Waugh’s understanding of providence in “The Humanizing Factor: Evelyn Waugh’s ‘Very Personal View of Providence’”. Furthermore, in “Helena in room 101: The Sum of Truth in Waugh and George Orwell”, George McCartney compared Waugh with Orwell, stating that both were “the most widely read of Britain’s twentieth century novelists” (p 59). Spanish scholar like María Luisa Lázaro signed the essay “Emma Bovary’s and Brenda Last’s Reception: The Affective Fallacy”. Lázaro studied the similarity of Emma Bovary and Brenda Last. Both were bored by their narrow lives as married women, being unable to find gratification even in their maternity. They considered themselves still young and beautiful and refused to accept a dull existence, thus they did not hesitate to search for their own happiness without considering the

consequences. Lázaro stated that these two characters' attitudes towards their social status and family life disclosed "a degree of vanity and selfishness" (p. 104). Another essay published in this volume belongs to Carlos Villar Flor, an expert Waugh, entitled "Textual Indicators of Characterisation: A Narratological Approach to *Brideshead Revisited*". In this essay, Villar Flor aimed to contribute "to the understanding of the semiotic operations and information devices employed in characterization processes by applying some basic notions of textual indicators" to the novel *Brideshead Revisited* (p. 147).

In the Spanish academia, the scholar who dedicated to Waugh countless books, essays and even a doctoral dissertation was Carlos Villar Flor, writer, translator and Professor at the University La Rioja. One of his novels entitled *Mientras ella sea clara* (2011) (*While She Is Clear*) received *The Award of The Best Book of Literature* in Cantabria (Chato, 2012). His doctoral dissertation entitled *La caracterización como producto y como proceso en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (*The Characterization as Product and Process in the Novels of Evelyn Waugh*) was presented in 1995 at the University La Rioja. This doctoral thesis was followed by other studies on Waugh such as *Personaje y caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (*Character and Characterization in the Novels of Evelyn Waugh*) published by University La Rioja in 2011. This work focused on the characters of Waugh's main novels, and it was divided in two sections: the first analysed the characterization as product focusing on characters as a whole, and the second studied the characterization as a process, which implied detailed data regarding the development of characters (Villar Flor, 2011, p. 12). In chapter three entitled "Noción y tipología del personaje literario"

(“Notion and Typology of the Literary Character”), section two called “Tipología del protagonista en las novelas de Waugh” (“Typology of the Protagonist in Waugh’s novels”), Villar mentioned that in *A Handful of Dust*, characters could be analysed from a structuralist approach. Thus, in this novel three main functions could be identified: seduction, deception and search. Each of these functions implied some factors such as subject-object, addresser-addressee and adjutant-opponent (p. 80). Following these concepts, Villar classified the characters of *A Handful of Dust* as follows:

Seduction: Subject and addresser: Brenda; Object and addressee: Beaver; Adjutant: Mrs Beaver; Opponent: John Andrew, Tony Last.

Deception: Subject and addresser: Brenda; Object: Tony Last; Addressee: Beaver; Opponent: John Andrew; Adjutant: Jock Grant-Menzies, Marjorie, Polly Cockpurse, Mrs Beaver.

Search: Subject: Tony; Object: The City; Addresser: Brenda, Dr Messinger; Adjutant: Dr Messinger; Opponent: Mr Todd. (p. 80)

In subsequent chapters, Villar focused on the process of characterization and its modes, discussed the role of the narrator, the distance between the narrator and the protagonist and the relationships between characters concluding that “the characterization through characters was grounded on an oblique sense,

which allowed the reader to obtain data about a specific character through information the character unconsciously provided about himself" (p. 148). Villar suggested that this type of characterization was rather based on irony, and more precisely on the situational irony when the victim was not aware of this contradiction. Thus, in the fifth and last chapter of this work, Villar concentrated on the auto characterization in Waugh from the situational irony perspective (p. 148). In order to accomplish this analysis, the scholar explained the concept of irony as viewed by the critic Douglas C. Muecke and also by other specialists like Marchese and Forradellas. Villar mentioned that Waugh's irony was the result of his peculiar understanding of the world as a man and as an artist (p. 154). This statement was also sustained by Machon D.J. who stated that:

As an artist, Waugh realizes that because it allows gaps and provides openings for other contexts, irony seems the best technical means of articulating his intellectual position of tentative, temporary knowledge of character and situation. (as cited in Villar Flor, p. 154)

Throughout this last chapter, Villar Flor presented various ironic scenes taken from *Scoop*, *Black Mischief* and *A Handful of Dust*, which revealed that Waugh employed rhetorical irony which made the speaker ironic, and also situational dramatic irony (p. 157). An example of dramatic irony was the final destiny of Prudence in *Black Mischief*. In a conversation with her fiancée Basil Seal, she foresaw her destiny:

‘Darling, what’s the good of talking... we’ll see each other again, whatever happens. You do promise that, don’t you?’ ‘You’re a grand girl, Prudence, and I’d like to eat you.’ ‘So you shall, my sweet... anything you want’.
(Waugh, 2012, p. 167)

In addition to the books that Villar dedicated to Waugh, this scholar also wrote articles such as “Damas vampiro y arribistas: Brideshead retorna a la pantalla” (“Vampire Ladies and Arrivistes: Brideshead Returns to the Screen”). The article was published in 2013 in the literary magazine *Fabula*. Villar discussed the first and the second televised versions of *Brideshead Revisited*. The first, was the serial, which won the Gold Globe in 1983, seven BAFTA awards and an Emmy. The second was a film directed by Julian Jarrold and reached the public in 2008. The screenplay was written by Andrew Davis who adverted that the main objective was to concentrate on Charles and Julia’s love story and how Catholicism destroyed their relation. Davis declared that if God existed, He would be the villain (Villar Flor, 2013 b, p. 59). Villar stated that this last version could be interpreted as “a criticism to religious intolerance, which allied with classism ruined the lives of the protagonists” (p. 60). Villar Flor criticised the acting of some of the main characters. Thus, Emma Thomson who interpreted Lady Marchmain seemed like “Cruella de Vil” and “the countess Dracula”. In this version Lady Marchmain was not as charming as the character presented in the novel. Neither Julia nor Sebastian were as charismatic as they were. Julia obeyed her mother’s orders of marrying Rex Mottram only because “she was destined to marry a Catholic”, and Sebastian was more obtuse and shy than the original (pp. 61-62).

Cordelia, the younger sister who embodied virtues like tolerance, kindness and piety, transformed into a snob in the film. The scholar found the setting, Howard Castle in Yorkshire, dull, ghostly and obscure inhabited by statues. Villar believed that the film represented a new trend in interpreting the classics by depriving them of their idiosyncrasy in pursuit of a universal acceptability (p. 62).

More recently, in 2016 Waugh still raised interest mainly among journalists who were concerned with Waugh's difficult character. Thus, Teresa Amiguet published in *La Vanguardia* on 10 April an article entitled "¿Porqué nadie quería a Evelyn Waugh?" ("Why did No One Love Evelyn Waugh?"). Amiguet highlighted the negative aspects of Waugh's life. She reminded the readers about Waugh's unhappy childhood, homosexual experiences, the failure of his first marriage, the conversion to Catholicism, the second marriage, the participation in the Second War, the drinking and his illnesses. The journalist pointed out that Waugh was "the ogre of the letters" because he was "misogynistic, cruel, snobbish, impolite, anti-Semitic, reactionary and paradoxically obsessed with sin and penitence" (2016). Amiguet concluded that a heart attack ended with "the most hated writer of his time" (2016).

As, it could be noted, after Franco's regime, Waugh was already a reference for Spanish journalists and scholars, who did not miss an occasion to write about his novels and also about his biography. Some journalists were still scandalised by Waugh's polemical personality, like Ignacio Carrión (1982) who criticised Waugh's diaries, and called him a "trivial, sarcastic and malicious writer" whose value decreased once his mysteries were disclosed (p. 51). Nonetheless, since the successful serial *Brideshead Revisited* was emitted by TVE, translators

showed interest in translating Waugh's works and specialists proceeded to publish more reviews. For instance, José María Alfaro (1983) and José Martín Abril (1985) reviewed the translations of *The Loved One* and *Scoop*. Martín Abril highlighted that Waugh was unfairly catalogued as a humourist, since the novelist was not a simple comic; Waugh was a writer of "an excellent and absorbent human character" (p. 55). Academics were also interested in Waugh, like Manuel Megías Rosa (1990) who analysed the characters of *Decline and Fall* as impostors who occupied a place that did not belong to them. Moreover, Carlos Villar Flor, the scholar who dedicated to Waugh countless articles, monographs, books and even his doctoral dissertation, studied in *Personaje y caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (2011) the characterization as a product focusing on characters as a whole and the characterization as a process, analysing the features, which constructed the characters. Nevertheless, the most representative aspect of Waugh's reception in Spain after Franco's dictatorship was the engagement of translators in providing to the wide public Waugh's almost entire work.

6.2 Waugh's Reception in Romania after the Communist Regime

After 1989, the interest in Waugh did not increase considerably, as it happened in Spain after Franco's death. In 1983 and 1984 respectively, when the television serial *Brideshead Revisited* was broadcasted in Spain, in Romania, Communists were still in power, and the serial was not emitted. In 2008, Romanians could watch the second film adaptation of *Brideshead Revisited* directed by Jullian Jarrold. A year later, in 2009 the only Romanian translation of *Brideshead Revisited* was published by the publishing house Leda. The table below presents the translations of Waugh's novels issued after the fall of Communism:

TITLE	PUBLISHING YEAR	TRANSLATOR	PUBLISHING HOUSE
<i>Scoop</i> (<i>Bomba zilei</i>)	2006	Boitor Viorica	Leda, București
<i>A Handful of Dust</i> (<i>Un pumn de țărână</i>)	2008	Boitor Viorica	Leda, București
<i>Brideshead Revisited</i> (<i>Întoarcere la Brideshead</i>)	2009	Gafița Mihnea	Leda, București

The fall of the communist regime could be interpreted as a cultural liberation, which might have allowed scholars and translators to write about and translate those authors, like Waugh who were considered problematic by the communist regime. However, this was not the case, since scholars' interest in Waugh did not increase significantly, and only a few translations were added to those issued during the communist regime. Translators, like Viorica Boitor focused on Waugh's most famous novels like *Scoop (Bomba zilei)*, *A Handful of Dust (Un pumn de țărână)* published by Leda in 2006 and 2008. Boitor also translated works of Henry Miller, Mark Mills, Aldous Huxley, Alexander McCall and Kurt Vonnegut among others. Gafița Mihnea translated *Brideshead Revisited (Întoarcere la Brideshead)* published by Leda 2009. Mihnea was a graduate of the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Foreign Languages, section English-Latin in 1984. He was an English and Latin Professor and a librarian at the National Library of Romania (Sfirschi-Lăudat, 2016). Since 1992, he worked as an editor and he collaborated with different publishing houses. As translator he published approximately sixty works. Some of the authors he translated were Charles Dickens, Louis de Bernières, George Orwell, Willis Barnstone and David Mitchell (Sfirschi-Lăudat, 2016). As it can be observed in the table previously presented, only one publishing house was interested in Waugh compared with the great number of Spanish editorials that published Waugh in the last years.

When the translation of *Brideshead Revisited* appeared on the market, the scholar Codrin Liviu Cuțitaru (2009) published in *România Literară* the article "Meridiane: Epifaniile unui ateu" ("Meridians: The Epiphanies of an Atheist") to revive Waugh's image in Romania. In this article, Cuțitaru mentioned that the

translation of *Brideshead Revisited* offered a more visible presence on the cultural market of a novelist with an exceptional artistic quality. Cuțitaru considered Waugh an atypical writer concerned with the construction of traditional allegoric and revealing epopees in a world that lost the taste for sacredness and became preponderantly profane and nihilistic (2009, para. 1).

The critic identified in Waugh's works a change of identity, which affected most of the main characters. Paul Pennyfeather, for instance, was expelled from Oxford University for indecent behaviour. Subsequently, Paul went through a whole cycle of human sufferings such as failed love, betrayal and prison. After this process, Paul returned to Oxford as the cousin of the former Paul Pennyfeather. This second Pennyfeather could indeed be considered a cousin of the first, as his personality changed, thus he had not much in common with the former (2009, para. 2). Tony Last in *A Handful of Dust* passed through a similar change of personality. When Tony learned about Brenda's betrayal, he initiated a journey to Brazil. The grief and illness forced Tony to recover his lost identity. Brenda considered him dead, and he was, in Waugh's symbolic scheme (para. 3). Only his authentic self could survive, as it was not affected by the masks of the hypocrite existence. Regarding *Brideshead Revisited*, Cuțitaru provided an extensive summary and highlighted Charles's atheism and his subsequent conversion to Catholicism. The scholar stated that Waugh's novels, primarily *Brideshead Revisited* ought to be read, mainly for the spectacular transformations of the characters' identities.

Some scholars continued to show interest in Waugh, and they dedicated several articles to the novelist analysing some of his well-known novels like

Brideshead Revisited and *A Handful of Dust*. Books on Waugh's fiction were not published, with the exception of a doctoral thesis entitled *The Comic Mode in Evelyn Waugh's Fiction* signed by Ileana Oana Macari and presented at the University Alexandru Ioan Cuza of Iași in 2002. This dissertation was structured in two sections. The first employed the discourse analysis for the study of the comic mode in Waugh's early novels (1928-1938). The second section concentrated on the literary aspects as well as on the social and cultural context in which Waugh wrote. In the analysis of the comic mode, Macari also focused on the use of language, speech and events.

A year later, in 2003, the scholar Mircea Platon published in the cultural magazine *Convorbiri Literare* the article "Evelyn Waugh sau literatorul dintre lumi" ("Evelyn Waugh or the Narrator between Two Worlds"). Platon divided the article in five sections and focused on the religious theme debated in Waugh's novels. In the first section entitled "The Limbo", Platon underlined that Waugh did not feel comfortable in the modern world and remained trapped between the modern and the ancient world; in a limbo. According to Platon, *Brideshead Revisited* and *Sword of Honour* disclosed Waugh's spiritual richness. In the second section entitled "Liturgical Drama", Platon cited Edmund Wilson who claimed that he was not able to see any Catholic point in Waugh's novels (p. 139). The scholar clarified that the difference between Wilson and Waugh was that Wilson understood religion as an ideology, which needed to be propagated. In contrast, Waugh could not see religion as an ideology, since it would dislocate, divide and falsify reality, and Waugh was a realistic writer. Platon suggested that Waugh did not intend to write according to his own laws and manipulate reality. Waugh was

a Christian writer not a progressist who tried to disseminate ideologies. Platon underlined that ideologies unlike Christianity could be fixed and prescribe recipes. Christianity was rather a direction, a pilgrimage path not a technique, and for this reason Waugh's work was not "analytical prescriptive" but rather "dramatically invoking" (p. 140).

In the third section of this article, the scholar focused on the architecture presented in Waugh's works. Thus, Platon underlined that in *Decline and Fall*, *A Handful of Dust*, *Work Suspended*, *Brideshead Revisited* and *Helena* modern architecture was detestable, because it negated characters' passions, memories and horizons. Modern architecture behaved like an ideology, which disrupted reality, as Silenus declared in *Decline and Fall*:

'The problem of architecture as I see it,' he problem of all art – the elimination of the human element from the consideration of form. The only perfect building must be the factory, because that is built to house machines, not men. I do not think it is possible for domestic architecture to be beautiful, but I am doing my best. All ill comes from man,' he said gloomily; 'please tell your readers that. Man is never beautiful; he is never happy except when he becomes the channel for the distribution of mechanical forces'. (Waugh, 2012, p. 154)

Platon stated that the rational-empirical sequence was not relevant for Waugh, as he was interested in the ontological consequence, on the purpose (p. 140).

The fourth section entitled “Maps and Grace” was concerned with the role of maps in Waugh’s narrative. Platon suggested that maps symbolised the distance from reality and the transcendence of a malevolent bureaucracy, as presented in *Men at Arms*:

First, the task was Calais. No secret was made of their destination. Maps of that terra incognita were issued and Guy studied the street names, the approaches, the surrounding topography of the town he had crossed countless times, settling down to an aperitif in the Gare Maritime, glancing idly at the passing roofs from the windows of the restaurant-car; windy town of Mary Tudor, and Beau Brummel, and Rodin’s Burghers; the most frequented, least known town in all the continent of Europe. There, perhaps, he would leave his bones. (Waugh, 2014, p. 113)

Platon concluded the article with a final section entitled “Art”. Here, the author highlighted that the subject of Waugh’s art was the real world and God. Waugh “did not portray a world sweetened with the saccharine of ideologies, a world pseudo-deified and synthetically idealised” (p. 142).

In 2005, Professor Lidia Vianu published an article on Waugh entitled “The Self-Indulgent Novelist” included in the volume *British Desperadoes at the Turn of the Millennium*. In this article, Vianu questioned Waugh’s writing talent, and she fiercely criticised *Brideshead Revisited*. According to Vianu, Waugh verged on being “deep”, “perceptive” and “appealing”, though these attributes could not

be identified in the novelist (p. 36). Vianu also stated that *Brideshead Revisited* was not a memorable book, since Waugh lacked “the self-assertive poignancy of a strong resourceful narrator” (p. 36). She considered that the Marchmains, Sebastian’s parents, were poor in reactions. They only accomplished their author’s whims who “seemed to have a good time inventing the plot, but the hell of time making it fit in with the characters” (p. 38). Regarding the Catholic religion debated in the novel, Vianu suggested that it was a failed theme. Mrs Marchmain was a Catholic, but she could not find consolation in her religion. Julia sacrificed her love for Charles in favour of Catholicism. Sebastian joined the monks in Tunis, and his brother Brideshead renounced his aspiration of becoming a priest and married. Vianu noted that the reader could not understand “the real texture of the religious experience as seen by Waugh” (p. 39). In Vianu’s opinion, Waugh only provided “incidents without souls”, a book “peopled with puppets”, which knew nothing about one another, as Charles confessed:

That night I began to realize how little I really knew of Sebastian, and to understand why he had always sought to keep me apart from the rest of his life (Vianu, 2005, p. 39)

However, it seemed that not everything was wrong in *Brideshead Revisited*. One aspect that gratified Vianu was the travelling scene to Venice. She mentioned that those readers who travelled little would enjoy this masterfully described scene. Vianu identified in the novel “one charm and one major quality”.

She considered that the charm was given by “a masterfully created atmosphere” and the major quality lied on the perfection of “each independent incident” (p. 43). However, when the vivid background and the short scenes were assembled, the reader would not get anywhere. Vianu stated that the novel did not offer a clear image of the plot, the characters or the author. Waugh employed “an easy-flowing treacherous style”, and he did not provide “an appealing opinion about anything” (p. 44). Vianu concluded that *Brideshead Revisited* was a book that “sunk into oblivion”, since the reader would forget it as soon as it had been read (p. 44).

In 2010, the scholar Rodica Grigore published the article “Evelyn Waugh. Trecutul între nostalgie și luciditate” (“Evelyn Waugh. The Past between Nostalgia and Lucidity”) in the cultural magazine *Transilvania*. Grigore associated *A Handful of Dust* to T.S. Eliot’s poem *The Waste Land*. In the poem, Eliot presented the symbolic figures of the Arthurian cycle in relation to the ancient Celtic rituals. Waugh’s novel enclosed the same image in a different manner. For instance, Tony Last was the new king Arthur, Brenda represented Guinevere and Beaver embodied Lancelot (p. 44). *A Handful of Dust* presented a modern and deteriorated version of this triangle, mainly if one considers the non-functional and outdated rooms of Hetton house named by the characters of the Victorian version of the history of Arthur offered by Tennyson: Elaine, Mordred, Gawain and Bedivere, Lancelot, Perceval, Galahad, Morgan le Fray (p. 44). Grigore referred to the master of Hetton, Tony, as a character who was always the victim of diverse circumstances instead of being the creator of events, which would change his situation. The world depicted in the novel required a decisive renewal

and a spiritual rebirth as well as a real understanding of facts and their real significance (p. 44).

Grigore mentioned also *Brideshead Revisited*. She found the friendship of Sebastian and Charles more convincing than the love story between Charles and Julia. The scholar noted that Waugh compared the happy 1920s and the calm atmosphere at Oxford with the war period, which directly or indirectly affected the life of all the characters. Hence, the serene summers spent in the campus at Oxford, Charles' walks alongside Sebastian toward the castle of Brideshead, which emerged under the spell of the imposing Mrs Marchmain and her imponderable daughter, Julia, configured a sort of a golden age, of full innocence and happiness unable to see the growing shadows (p. 45). From Charles' perspective, the time spent at Brideshead represented an eternal dream of adolescence situated in opposition to the heavy presence of his war comrades.

Grigore judged Waugh as an authentic writer. She stated that Waugh's authenticity relied on the difficulty of cataloguing his work as satire or as comedy of manners. As a satirist, Waugh did not intend to reveal his moral indignation, since he preferred to adopt a neutral position, or even to hide certain attitudes of sympathy or antipathy behind impersonal narrations, as Charles did in *Brideshead Revisited*. Waugh maintained a marginal position adopting the status of an observer. From here emerged his inimitable manner of writing, which made him unique among British writers. His novels could emphasize great truths and convincingly speak about the humanity of the human being, about the faith in the truth of art, as well as about sadness, loss, the passing of time and above all about the choices made by characters, which transformed them into what they

really are. According to Grigore, such characters transmitted essential knowledge about the human condition and about the hurried world marked by conflicts, which were so similar to the ones that people confront today (p. 46).

Another positive article dedicated to Waugh was “Cum m-am ‘împrietenit’ cu Evelyn Waugh” (“How I became a ‘friend’ of Evelyn Waugh”) signed by Virgil Nemoianu and published on 2 February 2012 in *Convorbiri Literare*. Here, Nemoianu recounted his contact with Waugh’s fiction. Thus, when he was a child, the first work he read was *Mr Loveday’s Little Outing*, a short story he found on a shelf in his aunt’s library. He enjoyed the story and became one of Waugh’s admirers for the rest of his life. According to Nemoianu, the short story was a satire of the modern world and of the way criminals and lunatics were treated. It was a satire against tolerance and humanism. At the university, he was absorbed by *Sword of Honour*, which depicted Guy’s fight against the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact and finally his bitter and sarcastic disappointment. Around 1977, Nemoianu met Michael Ratcliffe, the publisher of *The Times* to whom he confessed that Waugh and Joyce were the best writers of the century. Ratcliffe argued that it was not possible because Waugh was unlikeable and malicious (p. 22). Despite this negative remark, Nemoianu remained firm in his conviction, and stated that he deeply appreciated the television serial based on *Brideshead Revisited*, and he even travelled to Yorkshire to visit the Howard palace.

Nemoianu admired Waugh’s courage when dealing with criticism, as he provoked anger and annoyance among the intellectuals. Even Jonathan Swift was considered for 100-150 years an insane, a monster and a cannibal. Critics changed their opinions with difficulty. Nemoianu stated that Waugh could not

have received a better criticism. He was accused of being a misanthropic and a misogynist. This accusation might have been supported by the fact that in each novel, the harshness towards women equilibrated the harshness against men (p. 22). Waugh was also called a snob always in search of the company of aristocracy. Nonetheless, once this aristocracy was introduced in his novels, Waugh treated it with brutality, mocking and unmasking it without mercy. Thus, Waugh's biographic snobbism melted as the snow under the sun when it was introduced in his literature (p. 23). Nemoianu suggested that Waugh like any authentic satirist, (since Aristofan to Gogol, and why not Caragiale), measured the surrounding realities with implicit and veiled standards. In Waugh's fiction, standards were initially hidden, and then emerged without any fears. Nemoianu noted that some critics considered that Waugh's death was caused by his depressions produced on the one hand by the dogmatic and liturgical changes in the Catholic religion imposed by the Vatican, and on the other by the precipitated fall of the British Empire. However, Nemoianu believed that Waugh's excesses committed during his life were sufficient to cause his death. The scholar mentioned that Waugh's return in actuality was spectacular, and he admitted that he still reads and rereads Waugh, for he is Nemoianu's favourite writer (p. 23).

After 1989, Romanian critics analysed Waugh's fiction from various perspectives. Therefore, Codrin Cuțitaru perceived Waugh as an atypical novelist who portrayed a world devoid of values, nihilistic and profane. Oana Macari (2002) studied Waugh from a linguistic standpoint focusing on the discourse analysis in a doctoral dissertation dedicated to the novelist. Mircea Platon (2003) was concerned with the religious aspect transmitted through architecture and

maps. Platon highlighted that Waugh was a realistic writer who refused to comprehend religion as an ideology. Unlike Macari and Platon, Lidia Vianu (2005) was critical with Waugh, particularly with *Brideshead Revisited*, as in this novel Waugh was not a resourceful narrator. Vianu did not assess this work as a memorable piece of literature. On the other hand, Rodica Grigore (2010) appreciated the novel as well as *A Handful of Dust*. Grigore considered Waugh an authentic writer who transmitted the humanity of human being. Moreover, Virgil Nemoianu (2012) stated that Waugh was his favourite writer and coincided with Grigore on the fact that he was an authentic satirist. These scholars' articles acknowledge the Romanian reading public about part of Waugh's fiction, nonetheless, some more translations and even critical books on Waugh would be required for a wider reception by the Romanian readers.

CONCLUSIONS

During the Francoist regime, Spanish readers had access to a variety of Waugh's works, such as novels, biographies and travel writings. Some of them were imported from Argentina and Chile, and others were published in Spain. Table 1 below illustrates the works imported and those published in Spain during the Francoist dictatorship. Works are presented by the order in which Waugh published them:

Table 1

Title and the year when originally published	Year of entrance in Spain	Import or Spanish publication
<i>Decline and Fall</i> (1928) <i>(Decadencia y caída)</i>	1955	Imported from Buenos Aires by E.D.H.A.S. A
	1966	This Argentinian edition was also published by Aguilar.

<i>Vile Bodies</i> (1930) (<i>Cuerpos Viles</i>)	1955	Imported from Buenos Aires by E.D.H.A.S.A.
<i>Black Mischief</i> (1932) (<i>Fechoría negra/</i> <i>Barrabasada negra</i>)	1950	Spanish edition published by José Janés.
	1966	Spanish edition published by Aguilar.
<i>Scoop</i> (1933) (<i>Primicia</i>)	1947	Imported from Buenos Aires by Hispanoamericana.
	1966	This Argentinian edition was also published by Aguilar.
<i>A Handful of Dust</i> (1934) (<i>Un puñado de polvo</i>)	1943	Spanish edition published by Aymá.
	1957	Imported from Buenos Aires by Hispanoamericana.
	1966	Spanish edition published by Aguilar.

	1972	Spanish edition published by Alianza.
<i>Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr</i> (1935) (<i>El Jesuita y la reina</i>)	1960	Imported from Santiago de Chile by E.D.H.A.S.A.
<i>Put Out More Flags</i> (1942) (<i>¡Izad más banderas!</i>)	1974	Imported from Buenos Aires and published by Alianza.
<i>Brideshead Revisited</i> (1945) (<i>Retorno a Brideshead</i>)	1948	Imported from Buenos Aires by E.D.H.A.S.A.
	1966	The Argentinian translation published by Aguilar.
<i>The Loved One</i> (1948) (<i>Los seres queridos</i>)	1954	Imported from Buenos Aires by E.D.H.A.S.A.
<i>Helena</i> (1950) (<i>Elena</i>)	1955	Imported from Buenos Aires by E.D.H.A.S.A.

<i>Love Among the Ruins</i> (1953) (<i>Amor entre ruinas</i>)	1955	Imported from Buenos Aires by E.D.H.A.S.A.
<i>A Tourist in Africa</i> (1960) (<i>Un turista en Africa</i>)	1964, 1970, 1976	Spanish edition published by Plaza & Janés.
	1968	Spanish edition published by Círculo de Lectores.

This table reveals that during the Francoist regime, publishing houses introduced in Spain a total of 12 works: 10 novels, 1 biography and 1 travel book, published in Spain or imported from Argentina and Chile.

Some of these works arrived with a considerable delay. For instance, *Decline and Fall*, first published in 1928, *Vile Bodies* in 1930 and *Black Mischief* in 1932 reached the Spanish readers in the 1950s. *Put Out More Flags*, initially published in 1942, could be read in Spain in 1974. The biography *Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr* had a delay of 25 years, since it was published in England in 1935 and it was read in Spain in 1960. Some works, such as *Scoop* (1933) and *A Handful of Dust* (1934) arrived earlier, in the 1940s. Unfortunately,

during Franco's dictatorship, Waugh's short fiction, miscellaneous works as well as essays, reviews and journalism were not published.

Spanish publishing houses played an important role in Waugh's reception, as they proved to be interested in Waugh's works, mainly after Franco's regime. Since the 1980s until the second decade of 2000s, publishing houses repeatedly published Waugh, mostly his most famous works. The subsequent table 2 presents Waugh's works and the publishing houses interested in the author since the 1980s until 2000s. As in the previous table, works are enumerated by the order in which the author published them:

Table 2

Title	Year	Publishing House
<i>Decline and Fall</i> (<i>Decadencia y caída</i>)	1984, 1986	Anagrama, Barcelona
<i>Vile Bodies (Cuerpos Viles)</i>	1990	Anagrama, Barcelona
	2003	Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona
<i>Labels: A Mediterranean Journal (Etiquetas: Viaje por el Mediterráneo)</i>	2002	Península, Barcelona
	2011	RBA, Barcelona

<i>Remote People (Gente remota)</i>	2003	Ediciones del viento, A Coruña
	2009	Debolsillo, Barcelona
<i>Black Mischief (Merienda de negros)</i>	1985, 1990, 2008	Anagrama, Barcelona
	2005	Cahoba Promociones y Ediciones Barcelona
<i>Scoop (¡Noticia bomba!: novela de periodistas)</i>	1985, 1990, 1988, 1997, 2014	Anagrama, Barcelona
	2002, 2013	Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona
	2003	El País, Madrid
<i>Ninety-Two Days (Noventa y dos días)</i>	2005	Ediciones del Viento, La Coruña
<i>A Handful of Dust (Un puñado de polvo)</i>	1985	Alianza, Madrid
	1995, 1998	Espasa-Calpe, Madrid
	2009	RBA, Barcelona

<i>Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr (Edmund Campion)</i>	2009	Homo Legens, Madrid
<i>Robbery Under Law (Robo al amparo de la ley)</i>	2008	Homo Legens, Madrid
<i>Work Suspended (Obra suspendida)</i>	2009	Treviana Ediciones
<i>Put out More Flags (¡luzad más banderas!)</i>	2012	RBA, Barcelona
<i>Brideshead Revisited (Retorno a Brideshead)</i>	1982	Argos Vergara, Barcelona
	1987, 1990, 1993, 1998, 1996, 2008, 2010, 2015	Tusquets, Barcelona
	1992, 1995, 2000	RBA, Barcelona
<i>Scott King's Modern Europe (Neutralia: la Europa moderna de Scott-King)</i>	2009	Menoscuarto, Palencia

<i>The Loved One (Los seres queridos)</i>	1983	Argos Vergara, Barcelona
	1986	Seix Barral
	1990	Anagrama, Barcelona
	1999	Círculo de Lectores, Barcelona
<i>Work Suspended and Other Stories (En guardia. El amor en tiempos de crisis. El segundón/Cuentos completos)</i>	2000	Debolsillo, Barcelona
	2011	RBA, Barcelona
<i>Helena (Elena)</i>	1990, 2006	Edhasa, Barcelona
	1996, 1997	Altaya, Barcelona
	1998	Salvat, Barcelona
	2003	Planeta-De Agostini, Barcelona
	2005	El País, Madrid
<i>Men at Arms (Hombres en armas)</i>	2003	Cátedra, Madrid

<i>The Holy Places (Viajes a los santos lugares)</i>	2011	Elba, Barcelona
<i>Officers and Gentlemen (Oficiales y caballeros)</i>	2010	Cátedra, Madrid
<i>The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold (La prueba de fuego de Gilbert Pinfold)</i>	2007	Homo Legens, Madrid
<i>Unconditional Surrender (Rendición incondicional)</i>	2011	Cátedra, Madrid
<i>A Little Learning (Una educación incomplete)</i>	2007	Libros del Asteroide, Barcelona
	2009	Del Bolsillo, Barcelona
"Incident in Azania" (“Incidente en Azania”)	1983	Argos Vergara, Barcelona

The table discloses a gradual interest in Waugh. Thus, in the 1980s several items were published, including 6 novels and 1 short fiction (*Decline and Fall*, *Black Mischief*, *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop*, *Brideshead Revisited*, *The Loved One* and “Incident in Azania”). In the 1990s, 6 novels were published: *Vile Bodies*, *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop*, *Brideshead Revisited*, *The Loved One* and *Helena*. The

2000s was the most successful period for Waugh in Spain, as 23 works were published by Spanish publishing houses, comprising 14 novels (*Vile Bodies*, *Black Mischief*, *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop*, *Put Out More Flags*, *Brideshead Revisited*, *Scott King's Modern Europe*, *The Loved One*, *Helena*, *Men at Arms*, *Officers and Gentlemen*, *Work Suspended*, *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* and *Unconditional Surrender*); 1 collection of short stories, *Work Suspended*; 1 biography, *Edmund Campion*; 1 autobiography, *A Little Learning: the First Volume of an Autobiography*, and 5 travel writings, *Labels*, *Remote People*, *Ninety-Two Days*, *Robbery Under Law* and *The Holy Places*.

Novels rose the interest of various publishing houses. *Scoop* was published by Anagrama, Círculo de Lectores and El País; *A Handful of Dust* by Alianza, Espasa-Calpe, RBA; *Brideshead Revisited* by Argos Vergara, Tusquets, RBA; *The Loved One* by Argos Vergara, Seix Barral, Anagrama, Círculo de Lectores and *Helena* by RBA, Edhasa, Salvat, planeta-De Agostini and El País. Surely, the interest in publishing Waugh's novels was fomented by the film adaptation of *Brideshead Revisited* and *A Handful of Dust*. *Brideshead Revisited* reached Spain, first, as a television serial in 1983 and 1984, and, second, as a film broadcasted in 2008. *A Handful of Dust* was also adapted into a film in 1989 by Charles Sturridge, the director of *Brideshead Revisited*. This film was presented to the Festival of Cinema in Barcelona in 1989.

The Romanian readers had access to less works than the Spanish. During the communist dictatorship three novels were translated into Romanian, *Decline and Fall*, *A Handful of Dust* and *The Loved One*. *A Handful of Dust* was first published in 1945 by the publishing house Forum, and in 1969 by Editura pentru

Literatură Universală. *Decline and Fall* was published in 1968 by Editura pentru Literatură Universală, and *The Loved One* in 1969 by the same publishing house. Even though, during the communist period, Romanian readers had not access to more works, *Decline and Fall* was successful, as Literatura Universală recorded a distribution of 30,160 copies. After the communist regime, *Scoop*, *A Handful of Dust* and *Brideshead Revisited* were published in 2006, 2008 and 2009 by the publishing house Leda.

Translators had an important role in the reception of Waugh in Spain. Some of them translated more than one work, others limited to a single translation. For instance, P.J. Eastaway was the first who translated one of Waugh's novels, *A Handful of Dust* into *Un puñado de polvo* published by Aymá in 1943. Eastaway limited to *A Handful of Dust*, as he had not translated more of Waugh's works. Table 3, presented below, displays the translations into Spanish during and after the Francoist dictatorship:

Table 3

Title	Year	Translator
<i>Decline and Fall</i> (<i>Decadencia y caída</i>)	1955, 1966, 1984, 1986	Floreal Mazía

<i>Vile Bodies (Cuerpos viles)</i>	1955, 1990, 2003	Floreal Mazía
<i>Labels/ (Etiquetas: Viaje por el Mediterráneo)</i>	2002, 2011	Jordi Fibla Feito
<i>Remote People (Gente remota)</i>	2003, 2009	Paula García Manchón
<i>Black Mischief (Merienda de negros)</i>	1950	Rosa S. Naveira
	1966, 1985, 2005, 2008	Juan García Puente
<i>Scoop (¡Noticia bomba!: novela de periodistas)</i>	1947, 1966	Horacio Laurora
	1985, 1988, 1997, 2002, 2013, 2014	Antonio Mauri
<i>Ninety-Two Days (Noventa y dos días)</i>	2005	Manuel Piñon and Paula Pascual
<i>A Handful of Dust (Un puñado de polvo)</i>	1943	P. J. Eastaway
	1966	Juan Gómez Casas
	1957, 1972, 1985	Josefina Gaínza

	1995, 1998, 2009	Carlos Manzano
<i>Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr</i> (<i>Edmund Campion</i>)	1960	E. Lorca de Rojo
	2009	Ignacio Peyró
<i>Robbery Under Law (Robo al amparo de la ley)</i>	2008	F. José Mampara
<i>Work Suspended (Obra Suspendida)</i>	2009	María Maestro Cudrado
<i>Put Out More Flags</i> (<i>¡Llad más banderas!</i>)	1947, 1974	Horacio Laurora
	2012	Carlos Villar Flor
<i>Brideshead Revisited</i> (<i>Retorno a Brideshead</i>)	1946	E. T. Lawrence
	1948	Clara Diamant
	1982, 1983, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1996, 1998, 2000 2008, 2010, 2015	Caroline Phipps
<i>Scott King's Modern Europe</i>	1953	J. R. Wilcock

<i>(La nueva Neutralia / Neutralia: la Europa moderna de Scott-King)</i>	2009	Carlos Villar Flor
<i>The Loved One (Los seres queridos)</i>	1954, 1964	Pedro Lecuona
	1983, 1986	Helena Valentí
	1990, 1999	
<i>Work Suspended (Cuentos completos)</i>	1952	Guillermo Whitelow
	2000	Jaime Zulaika
	2011	Luis Murillo Fort
<i>Helena (Elena)</i>	1955, 1990, 1996, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005	Pedro Lecuona
<i>Men at Arms (Hombres en armas)</i>	1954	Miguel Alfredo Olivera
	2003	Carlos Villar Flor
<i>The Holy Places (Viajes a los santos lugares)</i>	2011	Ignacio Peyro
<i>Officers and Gentlemen (Oficiales y caballeros)</i>	2010	Carlos Villar Flor
<i>Love Among the Ruins (Amor entre ruinas)</i>	1954	Julieta Mendes

<i>The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold</i> (<i>La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold/La prueba de fuego de Gilbert Pinfold</i>)	1959, 1969	María Inés Oyuela de Estrada
	2007	Miguel Martínez-Lage
<i>A tourist in Africa</i> (<i>Un turista en Africa</i>)	1964, 1968, 1970, 1976	J. Ferrer Aleu
<i>Unconditional Surrender</i> (<i>Rendición incondicional</i>)	2011	Carlos Villar Flor, Gabriel Insausti Herrero-Velarde
<i>A Little Learning</i> (<i>Una educación incompleta</i>)	2007, 2009	Miguel Martínez-Lage
"Incident in Azania" (<i>"Incidente en Azania"</i>)	1983	Jaime Zulaika

This table shows the earliest translators interested in Waugh's oeuvre, such as Floreal Mazía, Pedro Lecuona and Horacio Laurora. Floreal Mazía was not only a translator, but also a poet, journalist and critic. During his career, Mazía translated for publishing houses from Argentina, Spain, Mexico and Uruguay. Some of the representative authors he translated were Lawrence Durrell, Mark Twain, Oscar Wilde, Richard Wright, Robert Wilder and Friedrich Pollock (Literarios de Buenos Aires, 2009). Mazía also translated two of Waugh's novels, *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies* in 1955. Both translations were reprinted by the Spanish publishing house Anagrama in 1984, 1986, 1990 and 2003. Pedro

Lecuona, a Spanish diplomat and consul of the Spanish Republic in Buenos Aires, translated *The Loved One* in 1954 and *Helena* in 1955. This last translation was published by five Spanish publishing houses; Edhasa in 1990, Altaya in 1996 and 1997, Salvat in 1998, Planeta-De Agostini in 2003 and El País in 2005. Another respected translator was the Argentinian Horacio Laurora, whose translation of *Scoop* in 1947 was imported by Hispanoamericana. His translation of *Put Out More Flags* was also published in Spain in 1974 by Alianza.

Other experienced translators who focused on Waugh's work were Helena Valentí, Jaime Zulaika and Caroline Phipps. Helena Valentí translated *The Loved One* published by Argos Vergara in 1983, Seix Barral in 1986, by Anagrama in 1990 and Círculo de Lectores in 1999. She graduated philology at the University of Barcelona in 1962 and presented her doctoral thesis at Cambridge (Associó d'escriptors en llengua catalana n. d.). Valentí wrote a series of novels like *L'amor adult* (1977) and she translated authors, such as Virginia Woolf, Graham Greene, Robert Graves and Lessing Doris (Associó d'escriptors en llengua catalana n. d.). Jaime Zulaika, the translator of Waugh's short fiction, *Work Suspended and Other Stories*, published by Argos Vergara in 1983 and by Debolsillo in 2000, is a writer and translator of authors like Graham Greene, John le Carré, Rudyard Kipling and David Leavitt (Auñamendi Eusko Entziklopedia, 2017). A translator whose work was published by a series of publishing houses was Caroline Phipps, the translator of *Brideshead Revisited*. This translation was successful, as it was published by Argos Vergara in 1982, by Círculo de Lectores in 1983, by RBA in 1992 and 1995 and by Tusquets in 1987, 1990, 1993, 1996, 1998, 2008, 2010

and 2015. Phipps was not only a translator, but also a writer of works like *More Easy Piano Classics (Usborne Learn to Play)* published in 1994.

Carlos Villar Flor is one of the translators and specialists in Waugh's oeuvre. Villar Flor dedicated to Waugh his doctoral thesis entitled *La caracterización como producto y como proceso en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (1995), and research studies such as the monograph *Personaje y caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* (1997). Villar Flor is professor at the University of La Rioja and a novelist, who received *The Award of The Best Book of Literature* in Cantabria for his work *Mientras ella sea clara* (2011) (*While She Is Clear*), (Chato, 2012). Villar Flor translated some of Waugh's novels unavailable during the Francoist regime, like *Officers and Gentlemen* and *Unconditional Surrender* in 2010 and 2011 published by Cátedra. The scholar also translated *Men at Arms* in 2003, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* in 2009 and *Put Out More Flags* in 2012. Thus, it can be concluded that Waugh's work was studied by representative figures, as translators proved to be also writers, critics and academics.

Some of Waugh's works were translated by various translators, which indicates that publishing houses might have not found appropriate the first translation and requested a new one. For instance, *A Handful of Dust* was translated by four translators, P. G. Eastaway, Juan Gómez Casas, Josefina Gaínza and Carlos Manzano. *Brideshead Revisited* was first translated by E. T. Lawrence, second by Clara Diamant and finally by Caroline Phipps. *Work Suspended and Other Stories* was first translated by Guillermo Whitelow in 1954 and then by Luis Murillo Fort in 2011 published by RBA. *Put Out More Flags*, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* and *Men at Arms* initially translated by Horacio

Laurora, J. R. Wilcock and Miguel Alfredo Olivera were finally translated by Villar Flor.

In Romania, translators had not translated as many works as in Spain, however during and after the communist regime, various translations were produced. Table 4 presents the translation of Waugh's work by Romanian translators:

Table 4

Title	Year	Translator
<i>A Handful of Dust</i>	1945	Nelly Mătăsar
<i>(Un pumn de țărână)</i>	1969	Dan Hurmuzescu
	2008	Viorica Boitor
<i>Decline and Fall</i>	1968	Petre Solomon
<i>(Declin și prăbușire)</i>		
<i>The Loved One</i>	1969	Dan Hurmuzescu
<i>(Preaiubita)</i>		
<i>Scoop (Bomba zilei)</i>	2006	Viorica Boitor
<i>Brideshead Revisited</i>	2009	Gafiță Mihnea
<i>(Întoarcere la Brideshead)</i>		

As in Spain, Waugh's novels were translated by noted writers and academics, in Romania, his work was also translated by well-known authors and intellectuals. Thus, the first translator interested in Waugh was Nelly Mătășaru. More biographical data about this translator could not be found; however, her surname coincides with the surname of the translator Renée Annie Cassian-Mătășaru, daughter of the Jewish translator of universal literature Iosif Cassian-Mătășaru. Since 1944, Renée Annie Cassian-Mătășaru was a poet, journalist and university professor. In 1985, while she was working as a visiting professor at the New York University, her friend Gheorghe Ursu, a poet who opposed the Ceaușescu government, was arrested by the Securitate. The Securitate police found among Ursu's documents some unpublished poems by Cassian in which she satirized the Ceaușescu regime. Cassian was forced to request asylum in the United States, where she lived until 2014 when she passed away (Fox, 2014). Years later, in 1969 and 2008, *A Handful of Dust* was translated by Dan Hurmuzescu and Viorica Boitor. Hurmuzescu, in 1969, translated also *The Loved One*, which was published alongside *A Handful of Dust* by Literatura Universală. Hurmuzescu was also a writer of history books, like *Socialist democracy: principles and political action in Romania* co-authored with Ioan Ceterchi and published in 1975 by Meridiane. Boitor also translated Aldous Huxley, Henry Miller, Mark Mills, Kurt Vonnegut and Alexander McCall Smith among others.

Other well-known translators and writers interested in Waugh were Petre Solomon and Gafiță Mihnea. Solomon translated *Decline and Fall* in 1968 published by Literatura Universală. He was a writer and a reputable translator who received *The Writers' Union Award for Translations* in 1982. Some of his

most representative works were *Mark Twain sau aventurile umorului* (1958) (*Mark Twain or the Adventures of the Humour*) and *John Milton* (1962). As a translator, Solomon focused also on writers like William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, George Gordon Byron, Joseph Conrad, Graham Greene, Walter Scott, Percy Bysshe Shelley, John Milton and Mark Twain. Gafiță Mihnea was a graduate of the University of Bucharest, Faculty of Foreign Languages in 1984. He worked as an English and Latin Professor as well as a librarian at the National Library of Romania (Sfirschi-Lăudat, 2016). Since 1992, Mihnea collaborated with different publishing houses, and published approximately sixty translations. Mihnea translated works by George Orwell, Willis Barnstone, Louis de Bernières, David Mitchell and Charles Dickens (Sfirschi-Lăudat, 2016). Thus, as in Spain, in Romania, Waugh's novels were transmitted to the readership by skilled translators and writers.

The critical reception of Waugh in Spain was composed mainly by newspaper and cultural magazine articles, reviews, academic works and doctoral dissertations. The first references to Waugh were made in the 1940s in the newspapers *ABC*, *La Vanguardia* and in the cultural magazine *Arbor*. Thus, in June 1944, *ABC* briefly enumerated the best-sellers at the National Book Fair, which included the first translation of *A Handful of Dust* published by Aymá. In the same month, *La Vanguardia* in a short advert mentioned that the film company Metro Goldwin Mayer Studios intended to adapt into films some works of several writers among whom Waugh was included. This periodical also published in July a note about a plane crash suffered by Waugh and Randolph Churchill during their military mission in Yugoslavia. *ABC* and *La Vanguardia*

mentioned Waugh briefly, however in 1949 the cultural magazine *Arbor* published an extensive article where Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer analysed most of Waugh's novels. Aguirre de Cárcer believed that Waugh was a comic writer with a prolific imagination and lexical richness. The critic liked the first novels of Waugh, *Decline and Fall*, *Vile Bodies*, *Black Mischief*, *Scoop* and found *Brideshead Revisited* Waugh's most profound novel. However, Aguirre de Cárcer disliked *Scott-King's Modern Europe* as he interpreted it as negative, because Waugh based the novel on sacrificing ideas and trends that the novelist should rather respect.

In the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, critics positively received Waugh's works, more precisely his novels, Waugh becoming a reference for most of them. A representative review and an article were published in *ABC* and the cultural magazine *Punta Europa*. José María Souviron published in *ABC* (1958) a review of *Brideshead Revisited*, *The Loved One* and *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*, which concluded that Waugh wrote with elegance and flexibility, making use of an implacable humour, being one of the rudest English humourists whose work had an unquestionable value. In 1959, Carlos Luis Álvarez wrote an article in *Punta Europa* focusing mainly on *The Loved One* concluding that the novel was not quite enlightening but rather polemical. In the 1960s, countless articles and reviews were edited mainly in *ABC* as well as in the cultural magazines *Eidos: Revista de Investigación y Cultura* and *Nuestro Tiempo*. Most of the critics agreed that Waugh was a humourist who transmitted in his novels a grotesque seriousness reaching the peak of cruelty mainly in the novel *The Loved One*, employing in his works the same style as Jonathan Swift. Critics also considered that Waugh wrote with elegance and was considered a thinker who believed in

Christian values. Some journalists deeply appreciated Waugh, as for instance Claudio de la Torre (1966), Mercedes Ballesteros (1966) and Carlos Luis Álvarez (1966) whom lamented Waugh's death in 1966. In the 1970s, Waugh was already a well-known figure among Spanish journalists, who cited Waugh every time they needed to support a statement, like the journalist and writer Carlos Luis Álvarez (1977) in an article in *ABC*, where he criticised the pro-Nazi marshal of Uganda, Idi Amin.

During the 1980s critics adopted both a negative and a positive attitude toward Waugh's work. Ignacio Carrión (1982), in a review, mentioned that Waugh was a trivial and sarcastic novelist whose diaries lacked intellectual depth, as they had a great façade and a poor interior. Pedro Crespo (1983) thought that Waugh was an intemperate drinker who had no social consciousness and no reforming fervour and whose criticism lacked authenticity. However, other critics appreciated Waugh, such as José María Alfaro (1983), who believed that Waugh employed in his works irony and produced a caustic satire. The journalist liked the novel *The Loved One* and concluded that Waugh was intelligent, original and brave. José Martín Abril (1985) valued Waugh's work and considered that *Scoop* enclosed a combination of nuances, sounds and colours that would captivate the reader from the very beginning. Martín Abril disliked Waugh's fame as a humourist, as he believed that he was not a simple humourist, but rather a writer with an excellent human character.

In the 1990s the interest of critics was oriented toward new translations like the novel *Helena*, and biographies of Waugh by Martin Stannard and Selina Hastings. Valentí Puig (1990) mentioned that Waugh's work displayed

knowledge, intelligence, taste, discipline and dedication, and all these attributes can be found in the novel *Helena*. Penelope Fitzgerald (1992), in a review of the biography by Stannard entitled *Evelyn Waugh: The Later Years (1939-1966)*, refuted Stannard's statement that Waugh's ability to hurt was the main source of his comedy, since Waugh's tragedy and comedy were provided by his experience of being hurt. Rafael Ramos (1994), in the review of Selina Hastings' biography entitled *Evelyn Waugh: A Biography*, mentioned that Hastings focused both on the dark side and on the generous and human Waugh. Ramos pointed out that Waugh's noble feelings were only an exception, as his harsh character used to overcome them. In 1990 professor Manuel Megías Rosa published an academic paper on *Decline and Fall* analysing the theme of imposture, since characters seemed to play roles that did not belong to them. Carlos Villar Flor, the scholar who dedicated to Waugh most of his academic research, presented in 1995 the doctoral dissertation entitled *La caracterización como producto y como proceso en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh (The Characterization as Product and Process in the Novels of Evelyn Waugh)* at the University La Rioja.

In the 2000s more academic papers were published by scholars. Carlos Villar Flor (2003) edited alongside Robert Murray Davis a collection of essays entitled *Waugh without End. New Trends in Evelyn Waugh's Studies*. Villar Flor also published in 2011 *Personaje y caracterización en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh (Character and Characterization in the Novels of Evelyn Waugh)*, which analysed the development of characters in Waugh's novels. In addition to the books dedicated to Waugh, Villar Flor also wrote in 2013 the article "Damas vampiro y arribistas: Brideshead retorna a la pantalla" ("Vampire Ladies and

Arrivistes: Brideshead Returns to the Screen”) published in the literary magazine *Fabula* where he discussed the first and the second televised versions of *Brideshead Revisited*. Villar was harsh with the second version, which reached the public in 2008, as characters were not faithfully following those presented in the novel. Lady Marchmain was not as charming, and neither Julia nor Sebastian were as charismatic as they were in the original version. Waugh’s polemical character converted into a representative theme, as in 2016 some critics like Teresa Amiguet could not refrain from mentioning that Waugh was the ogre of the letters because of his misogynistic, cruel, snobbish, impolite, anti-Semitic and reactionary attitudes. Amiguet concluded that Waugh was the most hated writer of his time.

In Romania, Waugh’s critical reception did not initiate as early as in Spain. The first reference identified on Waugh was a preface of Virgil Nemoianu published in 1968 in the translation of *Decline and Fall*. Nemoianu considered Waugh a Catholic writer and one of the greatest satirists, like John Dryden and Alexander Pope. Nemoianu appreciated Waugh’s sharp eye and his ability to always delight the reader; being able to combine farce and horror. However, the critic highlighted Waugh’s faults, as for instance his complicated character, mainly after the Second World War, when he became even more eccentric, unpredictable and capricious. Nemoianu believed that Waugh had inclinations towards filo-colonialism and filo-mussolinism, and in the *The Sword of Honour* Waugh betrayed his anti-communist mentality, a political criticism that Spanish critics had not stated. Other critic, like Monica Botez (1988) agreed with Nemoianu that Waugh was one of the greatest satirists of the twentieth century

whose ruthless satire could be compared with that of Jonathan Swift. Botez harshly criticised *The Sword of Honour*, as she believed that Guy Crouchback could not recognize the effort of the Allied Forces that saved the world from the Nazis. Nemoianu and Botez appreciated Waugh's satire, however they both highlighted Waugh's anti-communist ideology, which they seemed to disapprove of. Like Nemoianu and Botez, Silviu Iosifescu (1988) positively assessed most of Waugh's novels, nonetheless he believed that Waugh was a snob, as well as a grouchy, ultra conservative and xenophobic aristocrat.

The fall of Communism had not implied a considerable increase of interest in Waugh, as it had in Spain, however critics published more articles than they had during the communist period. In 2002, a doctoral dissertation on Waugh, entitled *The Comic Mode in Evelyn Waugh's Fiction* signed by Ileana Oana Macari, was presented at the University Alexandru Ioan Cuza of Iași. In this thesis, Macari studied the discourse analysis and the comic mode in Waugh's early novels. Mircea Platon (2003) liked *Brideshead Revisited* and *Sword of Honour*, because they exposed Waugh's spiritual richness. Unlike Platon, Lidia Vianu (2005) detested *Brideshead Revisited*, as Waugh did not make the plot and the characters fit adequately. Rodica Grigore (2010) identified in *A Handful of Dust* a spiritual rebirth and an accurate understanding of facts and their significance. Virgil Nemoianu (2012) dedicated another article to Waugh where he described how he had made friends with Waugh and stated that Waugh was his favourite writer. The research on Waugh's critical reception in Romania during and after Communism discloses that Waugh was not as well-known in Romania as he was

in Spain, nonetheless, critics accurately evaluated his works and agreed that Waugh was one of the best satirists of the twentieth century.

Censors' response to Waugh's work is one of the principal aspects of Waugh's reception in Spain and Romania. In Spain, during the Francoist dictatorship, Waugh's works passed through the censorship department in order to be revised, authorised or disapproved. Table 5 displays Waugh's works authorised and rejected by the censors. The order in which works are exposed corresponds to the date when they were submitted to censorship:

Table 5

Original title and translated title as presented in the censorship file	Year	Censors' response
<i>A Handful of Dust (Un puñado de polvo)</i>	1943, 1957, 1964, 1967, 1972	Authorised
<i>Black Mischief (Fechoría negra/ Barrabasada negra)</i>	1944, 1950, 1964, 1967	Authorised
<i>Scoop (Primicia)</i>	1947, 1967, 1962	Authorised

<i>Put Out More Flags (¡Más banderas!)</i>	1947	Not authorised
	1962, 1975	Authorised
<i>Brideshead Revisited (Evocación/Retorno a Brideshead)</i>	2 January 1948	Not authorised
	20 July 1948, 1962, 1967	Authorised
<i>Work Suspended (Obra suspendida)</i>	12, 28 May 1953	Not authorised
<i>The Loved One (Los seres queridos/Tod in Hollywood/Muerte en Hollywood)</i>	1954, 1956	Authorised
<i>Scott-King's Modern Europe (La nueva Neutralia)</i>	1954	Not authorised
<i>Helena (Elena)</i>	1955, 1962	Authorised
<i>Men at Arms (Hombres en armas)</i>	1955	Not authorised
<i>Love Among the Ruins (Amor entre ruinas)</i>	1955	Authorised

<i>Vile Bodies (Cuerpos Viles)</i>	1955	Authorised
<i>Decline and Fall (Decadencia y caída)</i>	1955, 1962, 1967	Authorised
<i>Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr (El Jesuita y la reina)</i>	1960	Authorised
<i>The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold (La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold)</i>	1960	Not authorised
	1972	Authorised with erasures
Collection <i>Obras escogidas</i>	1962	Authorised
<i>A Tourist in Africa (Un turista en Africa)</i>	1964, 1968, 1970, 1976	Authorised
Collection <i>Novelas escogidas</i>	1967	Authorised

This table reveals that Spanish censors had not represented a major obstacle in Waugh's reception. Thus, of 18 works submitted to censorship they authorised 15, *A Handful of Dust*, *Black Mischief*, *Scoop*, *Put Out More Flags*, *Brideshead Revisited*, *The Loved One*, *Helena*, *Love Among the Ruins*, *Vile Bodies*, *Decline and Fall*, *Edmund Campion*, *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*, *A Tourist in Africa* as well as the collections *Obras Escogidas* and *Novelas escogidas*.

Censors never authorised *Work Suspended*, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* and *Men at Arms*. Publishing houses aimed to import these works from Argentina and distribute in Spain a limited number of copies, 100-150, compared with 10,000 copies of *Novelas escogidas* sold by Aguilar in 1966. *Work Suspended* was submitted to censorship on 12 and 28 May 1953. The publishing houses Iber-Amer and Queromon intended to import the novel from Buenos Aires and distribute in Spain 100 copies. *Scott-King's Modern Europe* was revised by censors in 1954, when the publisher Eduardo Figueroa Gneco asked authorization to import the novel from Argentina and put into circulation 100 copies. Another work, which did not pass the censors' examination was *Men at Arms*. The novel was submitted to censorship in 1955, when the publishing house Hispanoamericana requested permission to import it from Argentina and distribute 150 copies in Spain.

The reasons that influenced censors in their decision in rejecting *Work Suspended*, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* and *Men at Arms* are difficult to identify, since the censorship files 2993/53, 3348/53, 2660/54 and 1193/55 on these three novels do not include a report, which would explain the censors' response. Probably, they rejected *Work Suspended* for morality and political reasons. On the one hand, John Plant, the main character, had fallen in love with Lucy, the wife of his friend Roger Simmonds, and, on the other hand, Roger was a communist. *Scott-King's Modern Europe* might have been forbidden for political reasons. This novella was inspired in Waugh's journey to Spain in 1946 when he participated in a congress organised by Franco to celebrate the fourth centenary of Francisco de Vitoria, an expert in international law. Waugh presented Neutralia

as a violent country with a chaotic bureaucracy, which maintained Scott-King trapped, as if he was in a prison. He could only leave the country illegally. Probably, censors identified Neutrialia with Spain, and they disapproved of the negative description of this country. Moreover, censors might have also been familiar with the reception of this novel in Great Britain, as it was fiercely criticised even by George Orwell, who believed that Waugh had not made an accurate distinction between fascists and communists. Finally, *Men at Arms* was probably disapproved because two ideologies that Franco appreciated, Italian Fascism and German Nazism, were placed in a negative light. Guy Crouchback, the main character believed that Fascism was only a “rough improvisation”, and Nazism was “mad and bad” (Waugh, 2014, p. 3). These three novels, which were not approved by Spanish censors, had not considerably affected the reception of Waugh in Spain, as the number of copies aimed to be sold was insignificant.

A novel authorised with erasures was *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*. The Censors asked Alianza to delete a whole chapter entitled “International Incident” where Franco was called offensive epithets like ‘tin-pot dictator’, ‘two penny-half penny Hitler’, ‘dago’ and ‘priest-ridden puppet’ (Waugh, 2014, pp. 44-45). Alianza seemed to reject the censor’s proposal, and the novel was not finally printed. Nonetheless, years later, in 2007, a translation of Miguel Martinez-Lage was published by Homo Legens.

Three of the novels presented to censorship were initially rejected and approved later. The first was an Argentinian translation of *Put Out More Flags* by Horacio Laurora. E.D.H.A.S.A. requested permission, in 1947, to import the novel from Buenos Aires. The import was not approved, and the censorship file 3187/47

did not hold a report that could explain the censor's decision. Later, in 1962, the publishing house Aguilar pretended to include the novel in the collection *Obras escogidas*. This time, the novel was approved by the censor, nonetheless, it was not published until 1975 by Alianza. Probably, the novel was initially rejected because Spain was described as a country without freedom, and it was accused of "atrocities against the left-wing intellectuals" (File 504/75). The second novel that was initially rejected was *Brideshead Revisited*. Manuel Quedo y Simón requested authorization in January 1948 from the censorship department to import the novel from Mexico translated *Evocación* by E. T. Lawrence. Quedo y Simón pretended to distribute 100 copies. This import was not authorised either. Some months later, that year, on 20 July E.D.H.A.S.A asked for authorization to import the novel from Buenos Aires translated by Clara Diamant into *Retorno a Brideshead*. The publishing house intended to distribute 150 copies. This edition was accepted, yet the censor considered the novel Protestant propaganda and disapproved of the fact that the church could be suborned in order to obtain a divorce (File 3873/1948). Probably, these negative references to the Catholic Church might have influenced the censor's decision in January 1948. The third novel initially disapproved by the censor was *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*. E.D.H.A.S.A solicited authorization in 1960 to import from Buenos Aires 100 copies translated *La Odisea de Gilbert Pinfold* by María Inés Oyuela de Estrada published in 1959 by Emecé. In his report, the censor mentioned that the figure of Franco was attacked and dishonoured, thus the novel was not authorised (File 5238/60).

The censors' response was sometimes surprising, since they approved novels that one would have expected to be denied on moral grounds. Therefore, *Decline and Fall*, a satire of the educational and penal systems, high society and state religion, was considered indelicate by Duckworth publishers who refused to publish the novel. It was finally accepted by Chapman and Hall, nonetheless with certain changes that would reduce the controversy of the novel. The polemic of the novel was given mainly by the prostitution practice of Mrs Margot Beste-Chetwynde whose fortune was provided by the brothels she owned in South America. The novel clearly described the activity of Margot Beste and of how she recruited young girls to send to the brothels of Rio. However, Spanish censors had not found this activity censurable, and they considered that the novel was concerned only with a collection of failed teachers. Another novel that enclosed immoral aspects was *Vile Bodies*. As in *Decline and Fall*, Mrs Margot Beste was recruiting young girls to send them to her brothels in South America. The censor concluded that the novel depicted humorous aspects of English life, and he found no reason to disapprove of the novel. Both novels, *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies* were humorous on the surface, however the background was serious. However, it seemed that censors only understood the surface, and did not find faults in the behaviour of some characters. Another polemical novel was *Black Mischief*, so fiercely criticised by Ernest Oldmeadow, the editor of the Catholic Journal *The Tablet*, who considered the novel "scandalous" and a "disgrace to anybody professing the Catholic name" (Oldmeadow, 1933, p. 214). The editor referred mainly to the cannibal scene when Basil Seal ate his fiancée Prudence, at a cannibal feast. The censors, like in the previous cases, found the novel

humorous, thus those scenes criticised by Oldmeadow were not considered immoral and the novel was authorised.

In their reports, censors behaved like literary critics. In a report of *A Handful of Dust* in 1943, the censor highlighted that the novel had literary and artistic value, and the novelist wrote with elegance and psychological insight. The report on *Black Mischief* issued in 1944 underlined the literary and documentary value. The censor mentioned that the work was a parody, which displayed the humour given by the contrast between the monarch's mentality and the primitive environment where he was forced to develop his projects. *The Loved One*, in a report written in 1954, was also assessed as a parody, more precisely, as a satire of North American religious beliefs, which intend to replace the authentic religious feelings with an absurd sentimentalism. In 1955, Waugh was considered a famous novelist in a report on *Love Among the Ruins*. In 1960, censors also appreciated the biography by *Edmund Campion* where Waugh, was this time considered an eminent novelist who combined historical elements with literary features. In the 1967 report on *Novelas escogidas*, censors highlighted again the fact that Waugh was a famous writer and humourist. In a report written in 1972 on *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*, the censor recognised Waugh as a classic, who narrated in this novel the life of a writer employing the typically English sarcasm and irony. When analysing *A Handful of Dust* in 1972, the censor concluded that Waugh was one of the greatest classics of this century whose work was included in the category critical-humourist, as Waugh displayed ingenuity and good mood as well as sharpness and critical judgement. The fact that censors considered

Waugh a serious writer, a humourist, a satirist and finally a classic of English literature might have influenced their positive reception of Waugh's work.

In Romania, the censorship department's reception of Waugh's work was not as positive as in Spain: more than half of the editions submitted to censorship were not authorised. Table 6 presented below introduces the works translated to Romanian and those in original version, which were accepted and rejected by Romanian censors. Works are introduced in this table by the order in which they were registered in the Library of the National Academy and in the National Archives.

Table 6

Title	Year	Censors' response
<i>A Handful of Dust</i> (<i>Un pumn de țărână</i>)	1945	Not authorised
	1969	Authorised
<i>Black Mischief</i>	1932	Not authorised
	1933	Not authorised
<i>Scoop</i> (French translation <i>Sensation</i>)	1962	Possibly not authorised
	1933	Not authorised
<i>Vile Bodies</i>	1930	Not authorised

<i>Decline and Fall</i> (<i>Declin și prăbușire</i>)	1968	Authorised
<i>The Loved One</i> (<i>Preaiubita</i>)	1969	Authorised

This table reveals that only three of nine editions that passed through the censorship department were authorised. Thus, the first translation of *A Handful of Dust* by Nelly Mătășaru published in 1945 by Forum was introduced in the documentary fund of the Library of the National Academy. The English edition of *Black Mischief* published by Chapman and Hall in 1932 and the edition of 1933 printed by Albatros Modern Continental were not authorised and guarded in the documentary fund. The Library of the Romanian Academy does not hold a record of the registration date of these two editions; nonetheless, the novels might have been registered before 1951 when the secret and documentary funds were founded, since both editions were included in the documentary fund. As no censorship files on *A Handful of Dust* and *Black Mischief* could be located at the Romanian National Archives, it could be assumed that these novels were rejected, on the one hand, for proceeding from Western countries like England, and, on the other hand, for being considered cosmopolitan works. The instructions on book selection issued in 1950-51, which regulated the books that should be introduced into the secret and documentary funds stated that “translations from the Anglo-American literature from 1920-1945” and “cosmopolitan works” were introduced in the secret and documentary funds (as

cited in Costea, Király, Radosav, 1995, pp. 260-261). Thus, if these instructions in book selection were applied, the edition of 1945 of *A Handful of Dust* could have been prohibited for being a translation from England, and the editions of 1932-33 of *Black Mischief* might have been rejected for been considered cosmopolitan works. Nonetheless, the fact that these works were published between 1920-1945 might have influenced the censor's decision to introduce the three novels in the documentary fund.

Scoop was another novel prohibited by the Romanian censors. The French translation of *Scoop* into *Sensation!* registered in the censorship file 10/1962 was requested by the Romanian writer Sergiu Fărcășan from the French library Hachette. The censors' report revealed that they focused mainly in the political aspects, as they translated into Romanian some passages that referred to Communism and Fascism. The novel included anti-communist aspects such as the failure of the Communist regime in Ishmaelia, the fictitious country in *Scoop*. Communists and fascists were called racists and Karl Marks was called Negro. The censors did not testify whether they approved the novel or not. However, considering that, in the novel, Communism proved unsuccessful, as it only governed a single day, the censors might have rejected the novel. The Library of National Academy in Bucharest guarded an original edition of *Scoop* published in 1933 by Chapman and Hall. This edition was introduced in the documentary fund, as the registration card proved. The first pages of this edition revealed that it was registered in the library in 1951. The National Archives had not allocated a censorship file on this original edition of *Scoop*, nonetheless, the novel was probably rejected for political motives. In 1951, Romania was still under

the Soviet power, and in the novel, the Soviet regime was not perdurable, a fact that the communist censor would disapprove of. An edition of *Vile Bodies* published in 1930 in New York by Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith was also introduced in the documentary fund. The National Archives did not hold a report of the censors, which would clarify the reasons of their rejection. Probably, the novel was considered dangerous for mentioning the practice of censorship in England, which had a lot in common with the Romanian censorship. The English customs officers behaved like the Romanian representatives of GDPP. They registered passengers' luggages, and they destroyed all books considered dangerous. The Romanian authorities exerted the same activity since the Soviets had reached power. The Romanian censor would not have permitted the readership to have knowledge about the censorship activity.

Nevertheless, Romanian censors did not prohibit all Waugh's works. The edition of 1968 of *Decline and Fall* translated by Petre Solomon, and the editions of 1969 of *A Handful of Dust* and *The Loved One* translated by Dan Hurmuzescu and published by Editura pentru Literatură Universală were all authorised. Particularly, the edition of *Decline and Fall* proved to be successful, as Editura pentru Literatură Universală distributed 30,160 copies in the libraries throughout the country. By the time these three novels were authorised, Romania was freed from the Soviet power, and Ceaușescu permitted the contact with the Western literature. Fischer (1989) explained that Ceaușescu allowed the exchanges of opinions and diversity of forms with the West, however he stressed that these exchanges must be done within the limits of the communist party (pp. 149-50).

The reception of Evelyn Waugh in Spain and Romania involved both similitudes and differences. The critical reception in Spain and Romania coincided that Waugh was one of the best satirists of the twentieth century with a prolific imagination, being able to combine farce and humour. Waugh was compared with Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope. Spanish and Romanian critics also agreed that Waugh was snobbish, anti-Semitic, ultra conservative and xenophobic aristocrat. Regarding political criticism, on the one hand, Spanish critics, like Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer mentioned that in *Scott-King's Modern Europe* Waugh should have respected certain sacrificing trends and ideas. On the other hand, Romanian critics like Virgil Nemoianu stated that in the trilogy *Sword of Honour* Waugh disclosed his anti-communist ideology. Thus, Spanish and Romanian critics' evaluation concluded that Waugh was one of the best satirists of the twentieth century, nonetheless they criticised mainly his polemic personality and his political views. Another aspect of Waugh's reception that coincided in Spain and Romania was the fact that his work was translated by representative figures in both countries. In Spain, the reading public could read translations by well-known translators, writers and academics like Floreal Mazía, Horacio Laurora, Pedro Lecuona, Carlos Villar Flor or Helena Valentí. In Romania, Waugh's work was also translated by noted representatives of the Romanian letters like Nelly Mătăsar, Petre Solomon, Viorica Boitor, Dan Hurmuzescu and Gafiță Mihnea. Nevertheless, the reception of Waugh in Spain and in Romania proved to be different regarding the publishing of Waugh's work and the answer of the censors. In Spain, during the Francoist regime, publishing houses like E.D.H.A.S.A and Hispanoamericana imported from Argentina and

Chile some of Waugh's well-known novels, and publishing houses like Aguilar, José & Janés and Alianza published part of Waugh's work. After the Francoist regime, a considerable number of publishing houses published almost Waugh's entire oeuvre in translated version. Those works that were not translated are located in their original version in the libraries of universities. In Romania, during the communist regime, three works were translated, *A Handful of Dust*, *Decline and Fall* and *The Loved One* published by Forum and Editura pentru Literatură. After the fall of communism, other three translations were available of *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop* and *Brideshead Revisited*, all of them published by Leda. The Spanish censors' response to Waugh's work was different than the Romanian censors' reception. Thus, in Spain during the Francoist period, censors had not represented a major obstacle in Waugh's reception, since from 18 works submitted to censorship, they approved 15. Even though, some works were not authorised, and others initially rejected to be approved later, Spanish readers could have access to most of Waugh's well-known works, *Brideshead Revisited*, *A Handful of Dust*, *The Loved One*, *Put Out More Flags*, *Black Mischief*, *Scoop* or *A Tourist in Africa*. However, the Romanian censors approved three of the nine editions presented to censorship, *Decline and Fall*, *A Handful of Dust* and *The Loved One* published in 1968 and 1969. They rejected a translated edition of *A Handful of Dust* of 1945, two original versions of *Black Mischief* published in 1932 and 1933, a French version of *Scoop* of 1962 as well as an original version published in 1933. An original version of *Vile Bodies* of 1930 was also rejected. All these novels were introduced into the documentary fund, which prohibited the access to the regular readers. The documentary fund could be consulted only by

representative figures of the communist regime. Even though, Romanian censors proved to be more restrictive than the Spanish, Romanian readers could still have access to some of Waugh's best works. Romanian critics also contributed to Waugh's reception by providing their opinions and evaluation, which allows the regular reader to understand the world of Waugh. Thus, the reception of Waugh's oeuvre in Romania proved to be successful from the point of view of the critics and translators and less from the point of view of censors and publishing houses, while in Spain Waugh's oeuvre was positively received by critics, translators, publishing houses and censors who authorised most of Waugh's work.

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Original title and year of publication	Translated title as presented in the censorship file	Number and year of the censorship file	Catalogue number
<i>A Handful of Dust</i> (1934)	<i>Un puñado de polvo</i>	1641/43 546/57 6545/62 61/67 14508/72	21/07120 21/11618 21/14290 21/17818 73/02610
<i>Black Mischief</i> (1932)	<i>Fechoría negra/ Barrabasada negra</i>	5554/44 6545/62 61/67	21/07495 21/14290 21/17818

<i>Scoop</i> (1933)	<i>Primicia</i>	5538/47 6545/62 61/67	21/08120 21/14290 21/17818
<i>Put Out More Flags</i> (1942)	<i>¡Más banderas!</i>	3185/47 6545/62 504/75	21/08039 21/14290 73/04584
<i>Brisehead Revisited</i> (1945)	<i>Evocación/ Retorno a Brideshead</i>	3873/48 210/48 6545/62 61/67	21/08400 21/08137 21/14290 21/17818
<i>Work Suspended</i> (1939)	<i>Obra suspendida</i>	2993/53 3348/53	21/10310 21/10331
<i>The Love One</i> (1948)	<i>Los seres queridos Tod in Hollywood/ Muerte en Hollywood</i>	188/54 1789/56	21/10599 21/11416
<i>Scott-Kings' Modern Europe</i> (1946)	<i>La nueva Neutralia</i>	2660/54	21/10728
<i>Helena</i> (1950)	<i>Elena</i>	907/55 6545/62	21/10997 21/14290
<i>Men at Arms</i> (1952)	<i>Hombres en armas</i>	1193/55	21/11018
<i>Love Among the Ruins</i> (1953)	<i>Amor entre ruinas</i>	2875/55	21/11103
<i>Vile Bodies</i> (1930)	<i>Cuerpos viles</i>	5354/55	21/11250
<i>Decline and Fall</i> (1928)	<i>Decadencia y caída</i>	5357/55 6545/62	21/11250 21/14290
<i>Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr</i> (1935)	<i>El Jesuita y la reina</i>	4450/60	21/12921

<i>The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold (1957)</i>	<i>La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold</i>	5238/60 1934/72	21/12976 73/01622
	<i>Obras escogidas</i>	6545/62	21/14290
<i>A Tourist in Africa (1960)</i>	<i>Un turista en África</i>	1678/64 7557/68 9581/70 8846/76	21/15100 21/19211 66/06075 73/05620
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SUMMARY IN SPANISH

La presente tesis doctoral estudia la recepción de la obra de Evelyn Waugh en España y Rumanía durante y después de las dictaduras franquista y comunista. Algunas obras satíricas de Waugh, al igual que sus creencias religiosas y políticas, fueron duramente criticadas por los académicos y críticos británicos y norteamericanos, llegando a la conclusión de que su sátira era destructiva y negativa porque a Waugh le faltaba determinación moral. Esta respuesta negativa a su obra por parte de algunos críticos de su propio país y de Norteamérica impulsa la investigación de la recepción de Waugh en países que tuvieron regímenes totalitarios como España y Rumanía con un férreo sistema de censura.

Los principales objetivos de esta investigación consisten en determinar qué obras del autor han estado disponibles en España y Rumanía, cuánto interés han mostrado los editores, qué obras han sido traducidas y si los traductores fueron figuras importantes, cuál fue la respuesta de los críticos, académicos y periodistas, así como establecer si su literatura fue considerada ofensiva para ambos regímenes y, finalmente, si la censura condicionó la traducción y la publicación de Waugh en España y Rumanía.

Para llevar a cabo esta investigación se ha seguido principalmente las teorías sobre los estudios de recepción introducidas por el crítico alemán Hans Robert Jauss. Su propuesta fue una respuesta a las escuelas marxista y formalista que no tenían en consideración la recepción de la literatura por el lector. Jauss se centra en la evolución de las respuestas de parte del público en

un tiempo determinado. Estas respuestas interpretativas y evaluativas se engloban, según Jauss, en el horizonte de expectativas estéticas y lingüísticas del lector que se ven condicionadas por ciertos prejuicios históricos culturales e ideológicos. Si se confirman las expectativas de los lectores, entonces están leyendo lo que el propio Jauss denomina “literatura culinaria”, pero si las expectativas se refutan, la obra literaria se convierte en una obra maestra que lleva a la reformulación del horizonte de expectativas. El horizonte de los lectores va cambiando con el paso del tiempo, ya que al tener acceso, no sólo a la obra literaria sino también a las respuestas de los críticos y académicos, se desarrolla una tradición histórica de recepción que atiende determinantes políticos y sociales necesarios para el estudio de la recepción de Waugh en España y Rumanía. Los determinantes políticos se centran aquí en el contexto histórico de ambos países mientras que los determinantes sociales se refieren a la respuesta de los críticos, censores, traductores y en el interés de los editores en publicar las traducciones.

Los materiales empleados para el desarrollo del análisis de la recepción de Waugh en España y Rumanía consisten en los expedientes de censura que se encuentran en el Archivo General de Estado en Alcalá de Henares y los Archivos Nacionales de Rumanía ubicados en Bucarest. Estos expedientes informan, por un lado, sobre el contenido de las novelas que hayan sido modificadas por los censores y, por el otro lado, sobre las novelas que no se autorizaron en España y Rumanía por motivos políticos, morales o religiosos. La consulta de las fuentes primarias y secundarias se ha llevado a cabo en el Centro de Recursos para el Aprendizaje y la Investigación (CRAI), de la Universidad de

Alcalá y en las Bibliotecas Nacionales de España y Rumanía. Las bases de datos de Rumanía y España, como ROLINeST (Romanian Library Network Science & Technology), la Red de Bibliotecas Universitarias (REBIUN) y Dialnet han facilitado el acceso a varias fuentes secundarias constituidas por artículos académicos, monografías, capítulos de libros, reseñas, ensayos y traducciones. Todos estos recursos han contribuido a la recopilación de datos necesarios para el estudio de la recepción de la obra de Waugh en España y Rumanía.

La investigación de la recepción de la literatura inglesa en España ha generado mucho interés por parte de los académicos. Uno de los primeros estudios en el campo fue “Oscar Wild in Spain” de Lisa E. Davis publicado en 1973. Académicos españoles como Julio César Santoyo de la Universidad de León estudió la recepción de Geoffrey Chaucer en 1988 y el profesor Alberto Lázaro Lafuente de la Universidad de Alcalá analizó la recepción de James Joyce en 2001, Virginia Wolf en 2003 y H. G. Wells en 2004. Más recientemente, la profesora Pilar Somacarrera se interesó también por los estudios de recepción, concretamente por la recepción de la literatura canadiense en España, editando en 2013 una colección de ensayos titulada *Made in Canada, Read in Spain: Essays on the Translation and Circulation of English-Canadian Literature*. Algunas tesis doctorales se han escrito sobre los estudios de recepción, como *Traducción inglés-español y censura de textos narrativos en la España de Franco (1962-1969)* de Marta Rioja Barrocal presentada en 2008 en la Universidad de León. En 2012, Monica Olivares Leyva defendió su tesis en la Universidad de Alcalá titulada *La recepción de Graham Greene en España*. A pesar de estos estudios, no hay investigación previa sobre la recepción de Waugh en España.

En Rumanía, los académicos mostraron interés por los estudios de recepción desde la década de 1980. En 1981, Ioana Sasu-Bolba presentó la tesis doctoral *Receptarea poeziei britanice în România interbelică* (*La recepción de la poesía británica en la Rumanía interbelica*) en la Universidad Babeş-Bolyai de Cluj-Napoca. En 1982, Grigore Vereş publicó la monografía *Opera lui Charles Dickens în România* (*La obra de Charles Dickens en Rumanía*). Varios académicos estudiaron la recepción de poetas como Yeats y Byron en los artículos “The Byron Phenomenon in Romanian Culture” (2004) de Mihaela Anghelescu y “The Reception of W. B. Yeats in Romania” (2006) de Rodica Albu. Capítulos de libros sobre la recepción de la literatura inglesa en Rumanía se han publicado también, por ejemplo, “From the Infantile to the Subversive: Swift’s Romanian Adventures” (2005) de Mihaela Mudure y “Dickens in Romania” (2013) de Monica Botez. A pesar de estos estudios, no se han hecho investigaciones previas sobre la recepción de Waugh en Rumanía.

El estudio de la recepción de la obra de Waugh en España y Rumanía se inicia en un contexto histórico dominado por dos regímenes totalitarios que podría dificultar la entrada de autores extranjeros como Evelyn Waugh. En España, en la época franquista (1938-1975) y en Rumanía durante el comunismo (1945-1989), la cultura fue controlada por la censura que autorizaba o prohibía la publicación de autores nacionales y extranjeros. Consecuentemente, para poder estudiar la recepción de Waugh en España y Rumanía, se requiere una presentación del contexto histórico para determinar hasta qué punto la censura afectó la recepción de Waugh en ambos países. En España, la Ley de Prensa de 1938 exigía a las editoriales someter los libros a la censura previa para

obtener autorización de publicación y de importación. Por lo tanto, los censores eran quienes autorizaban o rechazaban la publicación de un libro en particular. En sus informes quedaba constancia sobre el valor artístico y literario de cada obra, al igual que los motivos por los cuales aceptaban o prohibían un libro. Analizaban si la obra atacaba a la moralidad y al dogma, a las instituciones del régimen, a la iglesia y a sus ministros y si había párrafos censurables. Con la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 1966, la censura se volvió más flexible, ya que la censura previa fue sustituida por la consulta voluntaria. Sin embargo, la gran mayoría de las editoriales seguían presentando sus materiales al departamento de censura para evitar el embargo de los libros en caso de que se demostrase que tenían un contenido considerado peligroso para el régimen.

En Rumanía la censura fue controlada por la Dirección General de Prensa e Imprenta (GDPP) que funcionaba como la institución soviética *Glavlit*. GDPP vigilaba la publicación, distribución e importación de cualquier material. Los censores estaban divididos en dos grupos: un primer grupo sellaba los libros con el mensaje “bueno para imprimir” y un segundo grupo sellaba con “bueno para distribuir”. Los libros tenían que llevar ambos sellos para poder circular en el mercado. Como consecuencia del proceso de destrucción de libros iniciado en 1945 por el decreto-ley 364 de 2 de mayo para eliminar cualquier huella fascista o referencias negativas a la alianza con las Naciones Unidas, GDPP decidió rescatar algunos libros y guardarlos en unos fondos que los llamaron “secretos” y “documentales”. Las tarjetas de registro de los libros al igual que sus primeras páginas llevan escrito las letras “S” de secreto y “D” de documental. El acceso a estos libros era restringido. Solamente las personas de confianza del régimen

podían leerlos. Ambos fondos se liberaron en 1990. Cabe mencionar que los expedientes de censura emitidos durante la época comunista estaban archivados en el fondo del Comité para la Prensa e Imprenta y que gran parte de estos expedientes se destruyeron y los que quedaron se hicieron públicos a finales de 2004.

La crítica inglesa de la obra de Waugh se ha dividido según Martin Stannard (1984) en cuatro grupos compuestos por representantes significativos de las letras británicas, los compañeros de Waugh en Oxford, la intelectualidad católica y los novelistas y académicos que intensamente estudiaron la obra de Waugh. El primer grupo constituido por John Collings Squire, Arnold Bennett y Gerald Gould apreciaron los primeros tres trabajos de Waugh como *Rossetti His Life and Works*, *Decline and Fall* and *Vile Bodies*, considerando a Waugh un humorista que escribe con elegancia, pero sin mucho ingenio. El segundo grupo incluye a Harold Acton, el amigo de Waugh y el crítico y novelista Cyril Connolly. Acton evaluó positivamente la biografía de Rossetti donde Waugh empleó un estilo agradable y Connolly pensó que *Decline and Fall* no era una obra maestra, pero bastante cómica como para leerla dos veces. El tercer grupo se refiere a Christopher Sykes y Graham Greene quienes apreciaron *Officers and Gentlemen* y la biografía de *Edmund Campion: Jesuit and Martyr*. El último grupo incluye a Rebecca West y a Donat O'Donnell. West encontró interesante la biografía de Rossetti y O'Donnell pensó que la novela *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* era un poco desagradable y sin humor.

Estos críticos, en su mayoría se muestran positivos con la obra de Waugh, pero hubo algunos editores y críticos que encontraron realmente ofensivas

algunas novelas y libros de viaje como *Decline and Fall*, *Black Mischief*, *Waugh in Abyssinia* y *Scott-King's Modern Europe*. Waugh se enfrentó a muchas dificultades para publicar *Decline and Fall* porque la editorial Duckworth la catalogó como indecente y se negó a publicarla. La editorial Chapman & Hall acordó publicar la novela en 1928 si Waugh aceptaba los cambios de contenido propuestos por el editor Ralph Strauss. *Black Mischief* se enfrentó a una crítica severa por parte de Ernest Oldmeadow, el editor de la revista católica *The Tablet*. Oldmeadow consideró la novela vergonzosa, escandalosa con párrafos repugnantes y una desgracia para cualquier persona que se considerara católica. El libro de viajes *Waugh in Abyssinnia* fue criticado por la autora Rose Macaulay, quien acusó a Waugh de ser fascista por apoyar el ejército italiano en la guerra con Abyssinnia en 1935-36. Asimismo, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* fue criticada por George Orwell porque Waugh demostró en esta novela tener una visión política limitada y no consiguió delimitar adecuadamente el fascismo del comunismo.

Waugh fue conocido en España desde 1940 a través de referencias breves a sus obras en diferentes periódicos y a partir de 1949 los críticos elaboraron artículos más extensos como "La novela católica en la Inglaterra actual" de Aguirre de Cárcer, en los que se presentaban las novelas del autor y expresaban sus opiniones. Gran parte de los críticos concluyeron que Waugh era un gran humorista, que resultó negativamente afectado por la Segunda Guerra Mundial, donde participó como capitán, y aprovechó la escritura para transmitir en sus novelas la decepción y las experiencias que vivió durante la guerra. A partir de *Brideshead Revisited*, los críticos dejaron de considerarle un

humorista, para verle más bien como a un escritor serio que transmitió en sus novelas sus creencias católicas porque pensaba que la religión era la única solución para salvar la sociedad del deterioro de la postguerra. Algunas obras no fueron positivamente evaluadas por los críticos españoles, como *Scott-King's Modern Europe*, ya que Aguirre de Cárcer (1949) la catalogó como negativa, y acusó a Waugh de faltar al respeto a algunos valores que debería de apreciar. Otros críticos como Osete (1961) y Menczer (1966) pensaban que Waugh era demasiado caustico en su sátira, demasiado exagerado y polémico. A pesar de esta evaluación negativa, Waugh siempre ha despertado interés entre los críticos y los académicos españoles quienes, después de la muerte de Franco, publicaron monografías y tesis doctorales que estudiaban a fondo sus obras, sobre todo los personajes tan pintorescos que Waugh creó. Manuel Megías Rosa (1990), en el artículo "Imposture in *Decline and Fall*", estudió el tema de la impostura de los personajes en *Decline and Fall*, donde actuaban como impostores porque ocupaban puestos que no les pertenecían. Uno de los académicos que más estudió la obra de Waugh fue Carlos Villar Flor, quien en 1995 presentó su tesis doctoral titulada *La caracterización como producto y como proceso en las novelas de Evelyn Waugh* en la Universidad de la Rioja. La tesis analiza, por un lado, la caracterización como producto centrándose en los personajes en conjunto, y, por otro, la caracterización como proceso que implica un estudio detallado del desarrollo de los personajes. La recepción académica de Waugh en España resultó exitosa, ya que, a pesar de su polémico carácter y su sátira mordaz, Waugh fue estudiado y evaluado desde 1940 hasta hoy en día. Probablemente, el interés de los críticos fue promovido precisamente por su

fama de ser esnob, misógino, cruel, antisemita e inconformista, defectos que la crítica identificó en sus novelas, libros de viajes y autobiografías.

En Rumanía, el autor resultó ser menos conocido entre los críticos que en España, pero los pocos artículos que se elaboraron fueron extensos y analíticos. Críticos, como Virgil Nemoianu (1968), Monica Botez (1988) y Silviu Iosifescu (1988) compararon a Waugh con otros grandes escritores como Jonathan Swift, John Dryden y Alexander Pope y consideraron que *Brideshead Revisited* tiene un gran valor literario y que ocupa un lugar especial en la obra de Waugh. Los críticos apreciaron la habilidad artística de Waugh de combinar la comedia y el horror en la mayoría de sus novelas. Durante la época comunista, se mostraron positivamente receptivos con la gran parte de sus novelas, aunque Nemoianu (1968) y Botez (1988) criticaron la trilogía *Sword of Honour* por desplegar la actitud anticomunista de Waugh y Iosifescu (1988) consideró que *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* tiene valor solamente de punto de vista clínico. Iosifescu fue crítico con los diarios y las cartas de Waugh que los catalogó como insatisfactorios, faltándoles el registro emocional y estilístico que se encuentra habitualmente en sus novelas. Los críticos rumanos encontraron también muchos defectos en la personalidad de Waugh, considerándole un aristócrata hostil, irascible, ultraconservador y xenofóbico.

Después del comunismo, se escribieron más artículos e inclusive una tesis doctoral sobre su obra. En 2002, Oana Macari presentó la tesis *The Comic Mode in Evelyn Waugh's Fiction* en la Universidad Alexandru Ioan Cuza de Iași. En la tesis se emplea el análisis del discurso para estudiar la comedia de Waugh en sus primeras novelas. Macari analizó también los aspectos literarios y el

contexto social y cultural en el que Waugh escribió su obra. En 2003, Mircea Platon publicó el artículo “Evelyn Waugh sau literatorul dintre lumi” dónde mencionó que *Brideshead Revisited* and *Sword of Honour* exponían la riqueza espiritual de Waugh. Lidia Vianu (2005) en el artículo “Self-Indulgent Novelist” comentó que *Brideshead Revisited* no era una novela memorable porque su argumento no encajaba con los personajes. Virgil Nemoianu (2012) en “Cum m-am ‘împrietenit’ cu Evelyn Waugh” (“Como me ‘hice amigo’ de Evelyn Waugh”) destacó que el novelista era un satírico auténtico y consideró a Waugh su escritor preferido. A pesar de que los académicos publicaran más material sobre la obra de Waugh, los traductores y editores rumanos no mostraron mucho interés. Después del comunismo solamente tres novelas se han traducido, *Scoop* (*Bomba zilei*) (2006), *A Handful of Dust* (*Un pumn de țărână*) (2008) y *Brideshead Revisited* (*Întoarcere la Brideshead*) (2009), por lo tanto, Waugh no es tan conocido en Rumanía como lo es en España. Considerando que durante y después de la dictadura los críticos no han tenido acceso fácil a sus novelas, ya que muy pocas se han traducido, se deduce que la recepción crítica ha sido aceptable, porque se han revisado y criticado gran parte de sus novelas y se ha concluido que Waugh fue un gran satírico y que los lectores rumanos sabrían apreciar el valor literario de su obra.

Durante el régimen de Franco, los lectores han tenido acceso a 12 obras de Waugh que incluyen 10 novelas, una biografía y un libro de viaje. De estas 12 obras, 7 fueron publicaciones españolas (*Decadencia y caída* publicada por Aguilar en 1966, *Fechoría negra* y *Barrabasada negra* publicadas por José Janés en 1950 y por Aguilar en 1966, *Primicia* por Aguilar en 1966, *Un puñado de polvo*

por Aymá en 1943, Aguilar en 1966 y Alianza 1972, *¡Izad más banderas!* por Alianza en 1974, *Brideshead Revisited* por Aguilar en 1966 y el libro de viaje *Un Turista en Africa* publicado por Plaza & Janés en 1964, 1970, 1976 y por Círculo de Lectores en 1968). Algunas obras fueron importadas desde Argentina (*Decadencia y caída* y *Cuerpos viles* en 1955, *Primicia* en 1947, *Un puñado de polvo* en 1957, *Retorno a Brideshead* en 1948, *Los seres queridos* en 1954, *Elena* y *Amor entre ruinas* en 1955), y desde Chile se ha importado la biografía de Edmund Campion, *El Jesuita y la reina* en 1960.

Después de la época franquista, un gran número de obras de Waugh se han publicado en España. En los años ochenta las editoriales publicaron 6 novelas y un relato corto (*Decadencia y caída*, *Fechoría negra*, *Un puñado de polvo*, *¡Noticia bomba!: novela de periodistas*, *Retorno a Brideshead*, *Los seres queridos* e “Incidente en Azania”). En los años noventa se publicaron 6 novelas: *Cuerpos viles*, *Un puñado de polvo*, *Retorno a Brideshead*, *Los seres queridos* y *Elena*. La época más exitosa de la obra de Waugh en España fue en los primeros años del siglo XX cuando se publicaron 14 novelas (*Cuerpos viles*, *Fechoría negra*, *Un puñado de polvo*, *¡Noticia bomba!: novela de periodistas*, *¡Izad más banderas!*, *Retorno a Brideshead*, *Neutralia: la Europa moderna de Scott-King*, *Los seres queridos*, *Elena*, *Hombres en armas*, *Oficiales y Caballeros*, *La prueba de fuego de Gilbert Pinfold*, *Obra suspendida* y *Rendición incondicional*; una colección de relatos cortos, *Cuentos completos*; una biografía *Edmund Campion*; una autobiografía *Una educación incompleta* y 5 libros de viaje *Etiquetas: viaje por el Mediterráneo*, *Gente remota*, *Noventa y dos días*, *Robo al amparo de la ley* y *Viajes a los santos lugares*).

En Rumanía los lectores no han tenido acceso a tantas obras como los lectores españoles. Durante la dictadura comunista se han publicado traducciones de las novelas *A Handful of Dust* (*Un pumn de țărână*), *Decline and Fall* (*Declin și prăbușire*) and *The Loved One* (*Preaiubita*). *A Handful of Dust* se tradujo inicialmente en 1945 por Nelly Mătășaru y fue publicada por Forum. En 1969, la novela fue traducida de nuevo por Dan Hurmuzescu y publicada en una colección junto con *The Loved One* editada por Editura pentru Literatură Universală. *Decline and Fall* fue traducida en 1968 por Petre Solomon y publicada también por Editura pentru Literatură Universală. Esta última novela tuvo mucho éxito en Rumanía, ya que la editorial Literatura Universală ha distribuido 30.160 copias. Después de la dictadura comunista, se han publicado dos novelas que no se habían editado durante el comunismo, *Scoop* (*Bomba zilei*) traducida por Viorica Boitor y publicada por la editorial Leda, y *Brideshead Revisited* (*Întoarcere la Brideshead*) por Gafiță Mihnea y publicada también por Leda. Viorica Boitor ha traducido también *A Handful of Dust* (*Un pumn de țărână*) y fue publicada por Leda.

Un papel importante en la recepción de Waugh en España y Rumanía lo han tenido los traductores. El primer traductor que ha traducido al español una de las novelas de Waugh ha sido P.J. Eastaway. No se han identificado muchos datos sobre este traductor, pero contribuyó con su labor a que los lectores españoles conocieran una de las novelas más conocidas de Waugh, *A Handful of Dust*, publicada en 1943. Esta novela fue la única obra de Waugh que Eastaway ha traducido. Muchos de los traductores del trabajo de Waugh al español fueron muy apreciados en Argentina y en España, lo que sugiere que la obra de Waugh

fue tratada por grandes representantes de la cultura. Por ejemplo, traductores de Argentina como Floreal Mazía, que fue también poeta, periodista y crítico, controlaba cinco lenguas y 16 dialectos. De las obras de Waugh, Mazía ha traducido *Decline and Fall* y *Vile Bodies* en 1955. Las novelas fueron publicadas por Anagrama en 1984, 1986, 1990 y 2003. Mazía ha traducido también autores como Lawrence Durrell, Mark Twain, Oscar Wilde, Richard Wright, Robert Wilder y Friedrich Pollock. El traductor Pedro Lecuona pasó mucho tiempo en Argentina, ya que era diplomático español y cónsul de la República Española en Buenos Aires. Lecuona tradujo *The Loved One* en 1954 y *Helena* en 1955. Helena fue publicada por cinco editoriales: Edhasa en 1990, Altaya en 1996 y 1997, Salvat en 1998, Planeta-De Agostini en 2003 y El País en 2005. Otro conocido traductor de Argentina fue Horacio Laurora cuya traducción de *Scoop* en 1947 fue importada por Hispanoamericana desde Buenos Aires. Laurora tradujo también *Put Out More Flags* que fue publicada en 1974 por Alianza. Entre los traductores españoles destaca Carlos Villar Flor, profesor universitario, escritor y uno de los académicos que más ha estudiado a Waugh. Villar Flor ha traducido algunas novelas que no se habían traducido durante la época de Franco, como *Officers and Gentlemen* y *Unconditional Surrender* publicadas en 2010 y 2011 por Cátedra. El académico tradujo también *Men at Arms* en 2003, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* en 2009 y *Put Out More Flags* en 2012. Como se puede observar, la obra de Waugh ha sido traducida al español por reconocidos traductores, académicos y escritores.

Los traductores rumanos, al igual que los españoles, han resultado ser grandes representantes de la cultura. La autora Nelly Mățăsaru tradujo por

primera vez al rumano la novela *A Handful of Dust*. Datos biográficos sobre esta traductora no se han podido localizar, pero a juzgar por su apellido, podría haber sido Renée Annie Cassian-Mătășaru, una gran poeta, profesora y traductora que vivió gran parte de su vida en Estados Unidos como refugiada política, ya que había militado en contra del régimen comunista. Esta primera traducción de *A Handful of Dust* fue publicada en 1945 por la editorial Forum. *A Handful of Dust* fue traducida de nuevo años más tarde en 1969 y 2008 por Dan Hurmuzescu y Viorica Boitor. Hurmuzescu ha traducido también *The Loved One* que se publicó en 1969 junto con *A Handful of Dust*. Hurmuzescu, aparte de dedicarse a la traducción, ha escrito libros de historia. Boitor se ha centrado en la traducción, y entre los autores que ha traducido destacan Aldous Huxley, Henry Miller, Mark Mills, Kurt Vonnegut y Alexander McCall Smith. Petre Solomon y Gafiță Mihnea son también traductores de reconocida reputación. Solomon ha traducido *Decline and Fall* en 1968 publicada por Literatura Universală. Solomon fue escritor y respetado traductor que recibió el *Premio de la Unión de Escritores para Traducción* en 1982. Aparte de Waugh, Solomon ha traducido a William Shakespeare, Charles Dickens, George Gordon Byron, Joseph Conrad, Graham Greene, Walter Scott, Percy Bysshe Shelley, John Milton y Mark Twain. Gafiță Mihnea es el traductor de *Brideshead Revisited* publicada en 2009 por la editorial Leda. Gafiță se graduó en estudios ingleses en la Universidad de Bucarest en 1984. Desde entonces ha trabajado de profesor de inglés y latín, de traductor y editor, colaborando con varias editoriales. Gafiță ha traducido a autores como George Orwell, Willis Barnstone, Louis de Bernières, David Mitchell y Charles Dickens. En Rumanía, al igual que en España, la obra de Waugh fue traducida

por traductores de renombre, siendo algunos de ellos también escritores y académicos.

La recepción de la obra de Waugh en España y Rumanía por parte de la censura es uno de los aspectos principales de esta investigación. Se puede mencionar que en España, los censores no han supuesto una traba importante en la recepción de Waugh, ya que de 18 obras que se han presentado a la censura y 15 se han autorizado, *A Handful of Dust*, *Black Mischief*, *Scoop*, *Put Out More Flags*, *Brideshead Revisited*, *The Loved One*, *Helena*, *Love Among the Ruins*, *Vile Bodies*, *Decline and Fall*, *Edmund Campion*, *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*, *A Tourist in Africa* y las colecciones *Obras Escogidas* y *Novelas escogidas*.

Los censores han prohibido solamente tres obras, *Work Suspended*, *Scott-King's Modern Europe* and *Men at Arms*. Las novelas se pretendían importar desde Argentina en poca cantidad, entre 100-150 ejemplares, por lo tanto, un número muy limitado se habría distribuido en España. Aún considerando que el número de copias no era significativo, los censores denegaron su importación. Los expedientes de censura de estas novelas no contenían un informe que justificara la respuesta negativa de los censores. *Work Suspended* fue probablemente denegada por motivos morales y políticos, ya que John Plant, el personaje central, se enamoró de la esposa embarazada de su amigo, Roger Simmonds, quien a su vez era militante de la ideología comunista. *Scott-King's Modern Europe* no fue autorizada posiblemente porque los censores habrán identificado Neutralia, un país ficticio, con España. Neutralia fue presentada como un país violento con una burocracia desorganizada que mantuvo a Scott-

King atrapado hasta que consiguió escapar del país clandestinamente. *Men at Arms* puede que no se haya aprobado porque el fascismo italiano y el nazismo alemán, dos ideologías que Franco apreciaba, se presentaron negativamente en la novela.

Alguna novela, como *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold* fue autorizada con tachaduras en 1972. El censor proponía a Alianza eliminar el capítulo “Incidente internacional” porque se ofendía la figura de Franco, ya que se refería al dictador como “dictador de hojalata”, “Hitler de pacotilla”, “muñeco manejado por los curas” y “otros epítetos igualmente despectivos” (Waugh, 2014, pp. 44-45). Al parecer, Alianza no aceptó eliminar el capítulo y esta edición argentina traducida por María Inés Oyuela de Estrada no se publicó. No obstante, una traducción de Miguel Martínez-Lage se ha publicado en 2007 por Homo Legens.

Tres de las novelas que se presentaron al departamento de censura no se autorizaron en un principio, pero sí después de un tiempo. La primera fue una traducción argentina de *Put Out More Flags* de Horacio Laurora. E.D.H.A.S.A. pretendía importar la novela en 1947, pero los censores no autorizaron la importación. El expediente de censura 3187/47 de esta importación no contiene el informe del censor que justifique su respuesta. Más tarde, en 1962, cuando Aguilar quería introducir la novela en la colección *Obras escogidas*, los censores la autorizaron, aunque esta colección no llegó a publicarse. Finalmente, la novela se autorizó en 1975 y fue publicada por Alianza. Posiblemente, *Put Out More Flags* no se autorizó en un principio porque España se describe como un país sin libertad que cometía atrocidades en contra de los intelectuales de izquierda (File 504/75). La segunda novela rechazada en un principio fue *Brideshead*

Revisited. Esta edición provenía de México y los editors Quedo y Simón querían importar 100 copias en enero de 1948. La importación no se aprobó, pero en julio del mismo año, E.D.H.A.S.A solicitó permiso para importar desde Buenos Aires la traducción *Retorno a Brideshead* por Clara Diamant. Esta importación fue aceptada, aunque el censor pensaba que la novela era propaganda protesante (File 3873/1948). La tercera novela que los censores no aprobaron en un principio fue *The Ordeal of Gilbert Pinfold*. E.D.H.A.S.A solicitó autorización en 1960 para importar *La Odisea de Gilbert Pinfold* traducida por María Inés Oyuela de Estrada y publicada en 1959 por Emecé. En su informe, el censor mencionó que la novela no se podía importar porque se ofendía a la figura de Fraco (File 5238/60). La novela, como se ha mencionado previamente se autorizó en 1972 con tachaduras, ya que Alianza tenía que eliminar un capítulo completo si decidía publicar la novela.

Los censores actuaron en sus informes como verdaderos críticos literarios. Consideraron que Waugh exponía en su obra el típico sarcasmo e ironía inglesa y escribía con inteligencia y pensamiento crítico. En un informe de *Black Mischief* de 1944, los censores consideraron que la obra tenía valor artístico y documental y que la novela era una parodia que exponía el humor provocado por el contraste de la mentalidad del monarca y el ambiente primitivo donde tenía que desarrollar sus proyectos (File 5554/44). En un informe sobre la edición de 1972 de *A Handful of Dust*, el censor enfatizó que Waugh era uno de los novelistas ingleses clásicos del siglo XX y que su obra literaria se puede incluir dentro de la línea crítico-humorística que los ingleses tanto aprecian y que requiere de “ingenio y buen humor a la vez que agudeza observativa y sentido crítico. Todo esto lo tiene

Waugh, y de modo especial en esta novela, *Un puñado de polvo*, considerada su obra maestra” (File 14508/72). Waugh fue considerado por los censores un clásico del siglo XX, un crítico y un humorista serio; consecuentemente, esta evaluación quizá haya influido en la recepción positiva de los censores.

En Rumanía, la respuesta de los censores a la obra de Waugh no fue tan positiva, ya que más de la mitad de las novelas revisadas fueron prohibidas. Por lo tanto, de 9 ediciones sometidas a la censura, 6 se han prohibido y 3 se han autorizado. La primera novela prohibida fue la traducción de *A Handful of Dust* de Nelly Mățăsarú publicada en 1945 por Forum. La novela fue incluida en el fondo documental de la Biblioteca de la Academia Rumana. Las versiones originales de *Black Mischief* de 1932 y 1933 publicadas por Chapman and Hall y Albatros Modern Continental fueron también guardadas en el fondo documental, lo que significa que no se autorizaron. La Biblioteca de la Academia no tiene registrada la fecha de entrada de estas novelas en la biblioteca, pero, posiblemente se registraron antes de 1951, cuando el fondo secreto y documental se fundó, ya que ambas ediciones fueron revisadas e incluidas en este fondo. En el Archivo Nacional de Rumanía no se han encontrado expedientes de censura sobre estas tres ediciones, por lo tanto se desconocen los motivos por los cuales los censores han decidido introducirlas en el fondo documental. Posiblemente, los censores hayan aplicado las normas que regulaban la selección de libros que se iban a introducir en el fondo secreto y documental. Según estas normas las traducciones provenientes del Reino Unido y Estados Unidos se tenían que guardar en el fondo secreto y las obras con carácter multicultural, cosmopolita se guardaban en el fondo documental. Por lo

tanto, *A Handful of Dust* siendo una traducción de una novela inglesa se tenía que introducir en el fondo secreto, pero considerando que tanto *A Handful of Dust* como *Black Mischief* tienen carácter cosmopolita, ya que las novelas presentan aspectos de varias culturas, se introdujeron en el fondo documental.

Scoop fue otra novela prohibida por los censores rumanos. El escritor rumano Sergiu Fărcășan quería adquirir una traducción francesa titulada *Sensation* proveniente de la librería Hachette. En su informe, el censor se centró en aspectos políticos, ya que seleccionó unos párrafos que se refieren al comunismo y fascismo. En la novela, tanto a los comunistas como a los fascistas se les considera racistas y el régimen comunista no tuvo éxito, ya que gobernó un periodo muy corto. El censor no ha incluido en el expediente un informe con la resolución de esta novela; consecuentemente, no ha dejado claro si la ha prohibido o la ha autorizado. Probablemente, el hecho de que el régimen comunista no tuviera éxito en la novela, haya sido motivo suficiente para prohibir la obra. La Biblioteca de la Academia registró en 1951 una edición de *Scoop* en version original de 1933 publicada por Chapman and Hall. Esta edición fue incluida en el fondo documental, por lo tanto, fue prohibida. En los Archivos Nacionales no se ha localizado un informe del censor sobre esta edición que explique la decisión del censor. En 1951 cuando la novela fue introducida en el fondo documental, Rumanía seguía bajo el poder prosoviético, consecuentemente, el hecho de que el comunismo no consiga gobernar en la novela haya podido influir en la decisión del censor.

Una edición original de *Vile Bodies* publicada en 1930 en New York por Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith fue también incluida en el fondo documental.

Los Archivos Nacionales no guardan un expediente de censura sobre esta edición que exponga los motivos por los cuales la prohibieron. Posiblemente, la novela no fue aceptada porque presenta la actividad de los agentes de la frontera que se dedicaban a registrar el equipaje de los viajeros y confiscaban los libros que consideraban inapropiados. Esta actividad era muy similar a la forma de actuar de los representantes rumanos de la institución que regulaba la censura, GDPP. Los censores no habrían permitido a los lectores saber como funcionaba el aparato censorio.

Sin embargo, los censores rumanos han autorizado algunas novelas. La edición de 1968 de *Decline and Fall* traducida por Petre Solomon y las ediciones de *A Handful of Dust* y *The Loved One* de 1969 traducidas por Dan Hurmuzescu y publicadas por Editura pentru Literatură Universală fueron autorizadas. En 1968 y 1969, cuando estas novelas fueron autorizadas, Rumanía se había liberado de la influencia soviética, aunque seguía gobernando el comunismo. En esta época, Ceaușescu había permitido el contacto con la literatura proveniente de Occidente y también había autorizado el intercambio cultural con Occidente, pero dentro de los límites del partido comunista (Fischer, 1989, pp. 149-50).

Se concluye que la recepción de la obra de Waugh en España y Rumanía ha tenido algunos factores en común y otros elementos que se han desarrollado de manera distinta en cada país. En ambos países la crítica ha concluido que Waugh fue uno de los grandes satíricos del siglo XX cuya literatura se asemeja a la de Jonathan Swift. Los críticos han coincidido también en los defectos de la personalidad del autor, considerándole esnob, misógino, antisemita, ultraconservador y xenófobo. Los críticos de ambos países han reprobado la

visión política de Waugh. Nuño Aguirre de Cárcer consideró que *Scott-King's Modern Europe* era una obra negativa porque Waugh no respetaba ciertos valores e ideas. Virgil Nemoianu acusó a Waugh de desplegar su visión anticomunista en la trilogía *Sword of Honour*. Sin embargo, los críticos españoles y rumanos consideraron a Waugh un clásico de las letras inglesas, aunque criticaron su personalidad problemática. Tanto en España como en Rumanía, la respuesta de los traductores fue positiva, ya que grandes representantes de la cultura española y rumana han traducido la obra de Waugh, como Pedro Lecuona, Carlos Villar Flor o Helena Valentí en España y Nelly Mătăsar, Petre Solomon, Viorica Boitor, Dan Hurmuzescu y Gafiță Mihnea, en Rumanía.

Las diferencias en la recepción de la obra de Waugh en España y Rumanía consisten en que en España durante y después de la época Franquista las editoriales han mostrado mucho interés en importar y publicar la obra de Waugh. En cambio, en Rumanía, pocas editoriales han publicado a Waugh durante y después del comunismo. La respuesta de los censores en ambos países ha sido también distinta. En España, de un total de 18 obras, se han autorizado 15, algunas con tachaduras, otras se han denegado en un principio, pero se han autorizado después de un tiempo. Por lo tanto, durante la dictadura de Franco los lectores han tenido acceso a las obras más conocidas de Waugh como *Brideshead Revisited*, *A Handful of Dust*, *The Loved One*, *Put Out More Flags*, *Black Mischief*, *Scoop* o *A Tourist in Africa*. Sin embargo, los censores rumanos han autorizado 3 ediciones de 9 que se han sometido a la censura comunista. Las ediciones de 1968 y 1969 de *Decline and Fall*, *A Handful of Dust* y *The Loved One* fueron aceptadas. Los censores no autorizaron una traducción

de *A Handful of Dust* de 1945, dos versiones originales de *Black Mischief* publicadas en 1932 y 1933, una versión francesa de *Scoop* de 1962 y una versión inglesa de 1933. *Vile Bodies* de 1930 fue otra novela denegada. Estas obras fueron incluidas en el fondo documental al que solo podían acceder representantes de confianza del régimen comunista. La recepción de la obra de Waugh en Rumanía ha sido positiva de punto de vista de los críticos y de los traductores, pero la respuesta de las editoriales y la de los censores resulto ser limitada.

A pesar de que las editoriales y los censores rumanos se hayan mostrado menos receptivos con las novelas de Waugh que en España, los lectores rumanos han podido acceder tanto durante el comunismo como después, a las obras más representativas del novelista, como *A Handful of Dust*, *Scoop*, *Brideshead Revisited* y *The Loved One*. Al igual que en España, gran parte de la obra literaria del autor se puede encontrar en versión original en las bibliotecas de las universidades rumanas. En España, la producción literaria de Waugh fue positivamente recibida en todos los campos, ya que los críticos y traductores fueron receptivos con su obra, y las editoriales y los censores también se mostraron positivos a la hora de publicar y de autorizar la importación y publicación de las obras más conocidas del autor.

APPENDIX 1

This first appendix encloses the Spanish censorship files of some of Waugh's works presented to censorship during the Francoist regime:

- *Un puñado de polvo*, file 1641/43
- *¡Más banderas!*, file 3185/47
- *Evocación*, file 210/48
- *Retorno a Brideshead*, file 3873/48
- *Obra suspendida*, file 3348/53
- *La nueva Neutralia*, file 2660/54
- *Hombres en armas*, file 1193/55
- *Cuerpos viles*, file 5354/55
- *Novelas escogidas*, file 61/67
- *La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold*, file 1934/72



VICESECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR
DELEGACIÓN NACIONAL DE PROPAGANDA
SECCIÓN DE CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES



Expediente núm. 1697

Registro núm. 13717

8/3/43



Ilmo. Sr. DELEGADO NACIONAL DE PROPAGANDA

El que suscribe EDICIONES AYMA S.L. (DELEGACION DE MADRID)
con domicilio en Madrid calle Sebastián Elcano núm. 42
solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938, y disposiciones comple-
mentarias, para la edición siguiente.

Autor Evelyn Waugh

Título "A HANDFUL OF DUST" (UN PUÑADO DE POLVO)

Editor EDICIONES AYMA S.L.

Domiciliado en Barcelona

Calle Aragón

núm. 423

Clase de Impreso, Libro o Folleto LIBRO

Caracter.
Religioso
Científico
Literario
Documental
~~Artístico~~
Infantil

Matiz político ninguno

Volúmen de unas 250 páginas

Formato octavo marquilla

Tirada 2.000 ejemplares

Clase de papel alisado corriente

Madrid, 8 de Marzo de 1943

El solicitante
EDICIONES AYMA, S.L.

DELEGADO.

Firma: Federico Martínez de la Madrid

ILMO. SR. DELEGADO NACIONAL DE PROPAGANDA



VICESECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR
DELEGACIÓN NACIONAL DE PROPAGANDA
CENSURA



REGISTRO GENERAL NÚM. 13.717

EXPEDIENTE NÚM. 1641

ENTRADA 8-3-43

S.S.

EDICION

CLASE DEL IMPRESO

LIBRO

TITULO

"A HANDFUL OF DUST" "Un puñado de polvo"

AUTOR

EVELYN WAUGH

EDITOR

EDICIONES AYMA S.L. BARCELONA

VOLUMEN

UN VOLUMEN CIRCUNATA PAGINAS

FORMATO

OCULADO MARQUILLA

TIRADA

UNA VECELA PLARES

RESOLUCION

RESOLUCION

Madrid, 3 de Mayo de 1943

V.º B.º

El Delegado Nacional
de Propaganda,
E.D.

[Handwritten signature]



El Jefe de Censura,

E.A.

[Handwritten signature]

OBRA EN LA BIBLIOTECA



"A HANDFUL OF DUST", por Evelyn Waugh

N.º de entrada:

Expediente: I64I

Censor n.º 1

Valor literario o artístico: suficiente

Valor documental: ninguno

Matiz político: ninguno

Tachaduras (con referencia a las páginas): _____

Otras observaciones:

Novela en que se relata la vida de un hombre que harto de la falsa vida social y costumbres hipócritas y brutales de la sociedad londinense se evade de su círculo e intenta rehacer una vida mas libre y completa en la sociedad primitiva de los bosques y rios del interior del Brasil, apenas penetrados por la civilización. Allí topa con toda clase de aventureros, cuyos tipos describe con finura y penetración psicológica, llenando la descripción de este ambiente toda la última parte del libro.

A. Pardo

Expediente n.º 1641

Título. - UN PUÑADO DE POLVO (A HANDFUL OF DUST)

Autor. - EVELYN WAUGH

Editor. - EDITORIAL AYMA

Año. - 1.948

Fecha entrada. - 8-3-43 Fecha salida.

RESOLUCIÓN:

Autorizada según hoja 23-3-43

23 DIC 1943

[Handwritten signature]

1983

AUTOR Evelyn Waugh

TITULO 1...MAS BANDERAS !

EDITOR Editorial Sudamericana
Alsina, 500 - Buenos Aires

FORMATO 19 x 13

VOLUMEN 356 páginas

EJEMPLARES Tres cientos

PRECIO DE VENTA ... 20.-- Ptas.

COLECCION

E. D. H. A. S. A.

DIRECTOR - GERENTE

ILTRMO. SR. DIRECTOR GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA. - M A D R I D.

Expediente n.º 3185-47

Título: - ¡.... MAS BANDERAS!

Autor - EVELYN WAUGH

Editor - EDITORIAL SUDAMERICANA

Importador - HISPANO AMERICANA

Fecha entrada 16-8-47 Fecha salida

Lector, n.º 2 Entregada 82-1111

RESOLUCION:

Suspendida importacion el 25.8.47

S. E. P. Mod. 421-5.000.-IV-47.-H. E. M.

MEXICO



Exp. núm.

210

Registro núm.

15 ENE. 1948

Ilmo. Sr. ENTRADA N.º 210

El que suscribe Manuel Quedo y Simón con domicilio en Madrid, Avda. José Antonio núm. 45 solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938, y disposiciones complementarias para la importación del libro y folleto cuyas características se indican.

Autor Evelyn Waugh

Título EVOCACION

Editor Libros y Revistas S.A. Domiciliado en México Calle Antes núm. 31

Volumen 325 páginas

Formato 18X23

Tirada 100 ejemplares

Precio de venta

Colección en que se incluye Para la mujer

Madrid 2 de Enero 1948



Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Propaganda

Núm. de entrada

Fecha

D. Manuel Quedo y Simón ha presentado una instancia acompañada de UN ejemplar solicitando autorización reglamentaria, según la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938 (B.O. del 30 para su publicación).

Expediente n.º 210-48

Título - "EVOCACION"

Autor - Evelyn Waugh

Editor - Libros y Revistas S.A.

Importador -

Fecha entrada 15-I-48 Fecha salida

Lector n.º 11 Entregada 21-1

RESOLUCION

Suspendida su importación el 29-1-48

S. E. P. Mod. 491-5.000-IV-47-41. B. M.



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACIÓN NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARÍA DE EDUCACIÓN POPULAR

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES



Exp. núm.

Registro núm.

ACU. 1948

3373



Ilmo. Sr.

VPCH

3373

El que suscribe D. José M.^a Llovet Arnal, Director-Gerente de "EDITORA Y DISTRIBUIDORA HISPANO-AMERICANA, S. A." (E. D. H. A. S. A.) con domicilio en Barcelona, calle de Casanova, n.º 115, solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de Abril de 1938 y disposiciones complementarias para la importación siguiente:

Autor.. . . Evelyn Waugh
 Título. . . . RETORNO A BRIDGESHEAD
 Editor. . . . Ed. Sudamericana
 Alsina, 500 - Buenos Aires
 Volumen. . . . 496 pag.
 Formato. . . . 18 x 13
 Ejemplares. . . . ciento cincuenta
 Precio de venta. . . . 36.- Ptas
 Colección. . . . Horizonte

Madrid, 20 de Julio de 1948



E. D. H. A. S. A.
J. Llovet Arnal
 DIRECTOR-GERENTE

ILMO. SR. DIRECTOR GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA. - MADRID



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

SECCION DE INSPECCION DE LIBROS



IMPORTACION EXPEDIENTE N.º 3873-48

Presentada con fecha 5-8-48
Instancia en solicitud de autorización para imprimir la
obra RETORNO A BRIDSEHAD

de la que es autor Evelyn Waugh

editada por ~~EMCE~~ = EDHASA
SUDAMERICANA

con un volumen de 496 páginas y
una tirada de 150 ejemplares.

Madrid, de de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

COMPROBACION:

Sin antecedentes

El Jefe del Negociado,

PASE AL LECTOR N.º 1

Madrid, 20 de

de 19

El Jefe de Lectorado,

RESOLUCION

VISTO el informe del Lector, el Negociado propone la Autorización
de su importación

Madrid, 6 de Sepbre de 19 48

El Jefe del Negociado,



CONFORME con la proposición del Jefe del Negociado y vistos
los antecedentes del Expediente y declaro concluso, en
sus méritos se propone de conformidad

Madrid, 6 de Sepbre de 19 48

El Jefe de la Sección,



CONFORME con el Jefe de la Sección.

Madrid, de de 19

El Director General,

P.O. Primo firmo tarjeta

Con fecha 10/10/1958
queda hecho el depósito de los CINCO ejemplares que se
determinan para su firma y sellado en el Negociado de
Circulación.

El Jefe del Negociado,

INFORME

¿Ataca al Dogma?	Páginas
¿A la Iglesia?	Páginas
¿A sus Ministros?	Páginas
¿A la moral?	Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?	Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?	Páginas

RESULTANDO *

Novela sin argumento casi y que viene a ser una obra de propaganda protestante.

La cruz inadmisible

Novela, pésimamente traducida, en que se narran las extravagancias de una familia de nobles ingleses, católicos a su manera. Hay unos ataques o alusiones a la Iglesia (p. 41, 64) en boca de uno de los personajes; hay también algunas escenas muy realistas. En conjunto es una obra parecen graves inconvenientes 7 esos que para personas de madura formación no ofrece peligro.

Madrid,

de

Agosto

de 1948

Lector,

[Firma]

[Firma]

* El Lector deberá indicar de manera concreta si las tachaduras indicadas arriba califican el contenido total de la obra o se refieren a aspectos parciales.

Expediente n.º 3873-48

Título.- RETORNO A BRIDSEHAD

Autor.- Evelyn Waugh

Editor.- SUDAMERICANA

Importador.- EDHASA

Fecha entrada 5-8-48 Fecha salida

Lector n.º 16E Entregada 27-VIII-48

RESOLUCION:

Autorizada su importación el 7-9-48

S. E. P. Mod. 421.-5.000.-III-48.-H. E. M.



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

DIRECCION GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES



Exp. núm.

Registro núm.

3348



Denegada
9.VI.53

El que suscribe, QUEROMON EDITORES, S.A.

con domicilio en Madrid calle Harvaez núm. 49

solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938 y disposiciones complementarias para la edición del libro y folleto cuyas características se indican.

Autor Evelyn Waugh.

Título OBRA SUSPENDIDA.

Editor Emecé Editores, S.A. { Domiciliado en Buenos Aires (Argentina)
Calle San Martín núm. 427

Volumen 218 páginas

Formato 4º

Tirada 100 ejjs. A IMPORTAR.

Precio de venta

Colección en que se incluye (1) (grandes novelistas)

Madrid, 28 de Mayo de 1953

El solicitante,

QUEROMON EDITORES, S. A.

Gerente.

(1) Si es obra para niños o público femenino, dígame expresamente.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Propaganda.

Expediente n.º 3348-53

Título.- OBRA SUSPENDIDA

Autor.- Evelyn WAUGH

Editor.- EMECE

Importador.- QUEROMON

Fecha entrada 28-5-53 Fecha salida

Lector n.º Entregada

Mod. 421

RESOLUCION

Suspendida importación el 10-6-53



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES



Exp. núm. 02660

Registro núm. _____

denegada
3-5-74

Ilmo. Sr.



El que suscribe EDUARDO FIGUEROA GINECO
con domicilio en MADRID calle General Goded núm. 18
solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938, y disposiciones complementarias para la importación de la Argentina del libro y folleto cuyas características se indican.
Autor Evelyn Waugh
Título LA NUEVA NEUTRALIDAD
Editor Criterio } Domiciliado en BUENOS AIRES
Calle _____ núm. _____
Volumen 130 páginas
Formato 1/8
Tirada 100 ejemplares
Precio de venta Ptas. 30.-
Colección en que se incluye ⁽¹⁾ _____

Madrid, 22 de Abril de 1954

El solicitante,

E. Figueroa

(1) Si es obra para niños o para público femenino dígame expresamente.

ILMO. SR. DIRECTOR GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

Expediente n.º 2660-54

Título NUEVA NEUTRALIA-1B

Autor. - Evelyn WAUGH

Editor. - CRITERIO

Importador. - FIGUEROA

Fecha entrada 22-4-54 Fecha salida

Lector n.º F Entregada

RESOLUCION:

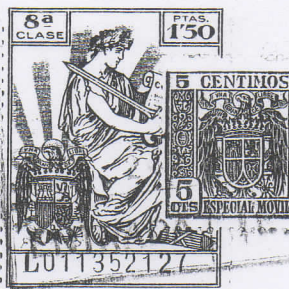
SUSPENDIDA SU IMPORTACION EL 4-5-54



MINISTERIO DE EDUCACION NACIONAL
SUBSECRETARIA DE EDUCACION POPULAR

DIRECCION GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

CENSURA DE PUBLICACIONES



Exp. núm.

Registro núm.



IMPORTACION

Ilmo. Sr.:

denegada
8-3-55
El que suscribe, IBER-AMER, S. A., Publicaciones Hispano-Americanas, con domicilio en Madrid, Plaza Platería Martínez, 1, solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de abril de 1938, y disposiciones complementarias para la edición del libro y folleto cuyas características se indican.

Autor Evelyn Waugh

Título HOMBRES EN ARMAS

Editor Emecé

Domiciliado en Buenos Aires

Calle _____ núm. _____

Volumen 306 páginas

Formato 19 X 13

Tirada Recibidos dos ejemplares para los trámites de Censura

Precio de venta 66,-

Colección en que se incluye (1) _____

Madrid, 24 de Febrero de 1955

El solicitante,

IBER-AMER
PUBLICACIONES HISPANO-AMERICANAS, S. A.
R. P.

Freya

(1) Si es obra para niños o para público femenino dígame expresamente.

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Propaganda

Expediente n.º 1193-55

Título. HOMBRES EN ARMAS

Autor. — EVELYN WAUGH

Editor. — EMECE

Importador — IBER AMER

Fecha entrada 24-2-55 Fecha salida _____

Lector n.º 2 Entregada _____

Mod. 421.-5.000.-5-54

RESOLUCION:

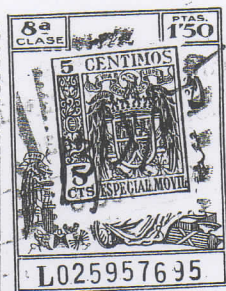
Suspendida su importación el 10-3-55



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACIÓN Y TURISMO

DIRECCIÓN GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA

CENSURA DE LIBROS



1584

Exp. núm.

Registro núm.

Libros argentinos

Importados de Argentina

Ilmo. Sr.

05354

*Aut-
29.X.55*

El que suscribe Don José M.^a Llovet Arnal, Consejero-Delegado de «EDITORIA Y DISTRIBUIDORA HISPANO-AMERICANA, S. A.» (E.D.H.A.S.A.) con domicilio en Barcelona, calle de Casanova, n.º 115, solicita la autorización que exige la Orden de 29 de Abril de 1938 y disposiciones complementarias para la importación siguiente:

Autor Evelyn Waugh
Título CUERPOS VIELES
Editor Ed. Sudamericana, S.A.
 Alsina, 500 - Buenos Aires
Volumen 122 galeradas
Formato 13 x 19
Ejemplares trescientos
Precio de venta . . 61.-- ptas.
Colección

Madrid, 13 de Septiembre de 19 55



E.D.H.A.S.A.

CONSEJERO DELEGADO

ILMO. SR. DIRECTOR GENERAL DE PROPAGANDA. - MADRID

RESOLUCION

VISTO el informe del Lector, el Negociado propone la

AUTORIZACION

Madrid, 3 de noviembre de 19 55

El Jefe del Negociado,




CONFORME con la proposición del Jefe del Negociado y
vistos los antecedentes del Expediente y declaro
concluso, en sus méritos se propone de conformidad



Madrid, 3 de noviembre de 19 55

El Jefe de la Sección,



CONFORME con el Jefe de la Sección.

Madrid, 3 de noviembre de 19 55

P. El Director General,



Con fecha 19 de Mayo de 1947
queda hecho el depósito de los CINCO ejemplares
que se determinan para su firma y sellada en el
Negociado de Circulación.

El Jefe del Negociado,



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

SECCION DE INSPECCION DE LIBROS

EXPEDIENTE N.º 5354-55

Presentada con fecha 13-10-55

Instancia en solicitud de autorización para imprimir la obra **CUERPOS VILES**

de la que es autor **EVELYN WAUGH**

editada por **ED SUDAMERICANA**

con un volumen de 132 páginas y
una tirada de 300 ejemplares.

Madrid, 13 de Oct

de 19 55

El Jefe de Lectorado,

COMPROBACION:

S-A

El Jefe del Negociado,

PASE AL LECTOR N.º 14

Madrid, 18 de X

de 19 55

El Jefe de Lectorado,

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma?

Páginas

¿A la Iglesia?

Páginas

¿A sus Ministros?

Páginas

¿A la moral?

Páginas

¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones?

Páginas

¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen?

Páginas

RESULTANDO

Son cuadros de vida inglesa lleno de humor y de intención caustica. Una vida inglesa de un futuro inmediato, consecuencia del desarrollo (social) que hoy se opera en la vida social de todos los pueblos, causado en gran parte por una desaparición de las diferencias ^{de estratos} sociales. Con este fondo una leve historia de amor entre un periodista y la hija de un típico coronel inglés.

Procede su autorización

Tavien Dietz

Madrid, 29 de Octubre de 1955

El Lector,

El Lector deberá indicar de manera concreta si las tachaduras indicadas arriba califican el contenido total de la obra o se refieren a aspectos parciales.

Expediente n.º 5354-55

Título. — CUERPOS VILES

Autor. — EVELYN WAUGH

Editor. — ED SUDAM

Importador. — EDHASA

Fecha entrada 13-10-55 Fecha salida _____

Lector n.º 14 Entregada _____

Mod. 421.-5.000.-5-54

RESOLUCION: autorizado 3-11-55

Expediente núm.

61



Cumplidos los requisitos del Depósito previsto en el artículo 12 de la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 1966.
Madrid, 5 de Enero de 1967

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, AGUILAR, S. A. DE EDICIONES con domicilio en Madrid, calle Juan Bravo, número 38, en representación de la Editorial AGUILAR, S. A. DE EDICIONES, deposita los seis ejemplares que exige el artículo 12 de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de 18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19) de la obra ~~XXX~~ presentada previamente a consulta voluntaria.

TITULO: NOVELAS ESCOGIDAS
(Relación al dorso)

AUTOR: Nombre EVELYN seudónimo
Apellidos WAUGH

EDITOR: AGUILAR, S. A. DE EDICIONES, inscrito con el número en el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 1192
Formato 12,5 x 19 cms
Tirada 5.000 Ejemplares
Precio venta 400.-ptas

Colección en que se incluye (1) AUTORES MODERNOS

Madrid, Hora 11.45 Fecha 4 de Enero de 1967



EL SOLICITANTE,
AGUILAR, S. A. DE EDICIONES
Por Poder,

[Handwritten signature]

Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Información.

(1) Si es obra infantil o juvenil, dígame expresamente.

Relacion que se cita

- 6545/62 BARRABASADA NEGRA presentada en Gobernador 15-64
6545/62 DECADENCIA Y CAIDA } no tenemos la resolucioy
Aut. con tachadura 19/12/62
(1) 6545/62 PRIMICIA
6545/62 PUÑADO DE POLVO, Un presentada en Gobernador 15-64
no tenemos resolucioy
(2) 6545/62 RETORNO A BRIDESHEAD Aut. con tachadura 19/12/62

(1) Autorizados en "Obros escopidos" la tachadura no se sabe a cual corresponde

(2) no figura la resolucioy en nuestros ficheros

Done



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

Dirección General de Información

Servicio de Orientación Bibliográfica

DEPOSITO

D. 12.15

EXPEDIENTE N.º 61-67

4 ENE 1967

Presentada con fecha
instancia en solicitud de autorización para
imprimir la obra NOVELAS ESCOGIDAS
(Relacion adjunta)
de la que es autor WAUGH, Evelyn
editada por Aguilar

con un volumen de 1880 páginas
y una tirada de 10.000 ejemplares

Madrid, de 4 ENE 1967 de 196

El Jefe del Negociado de Registro,

[Firma]

ANTECEDENTES:

[Firma]

El Jefe del Negociado de Circulación
y Ficheros,

[Firma]

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid, de de 196

El Jefe de la Sección de Lectorado,

[Firma]

INFORME

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al Régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

*Pueden autorizar se
todos estos títulos
del conocido como
en la inglés.*

Madrid,

de

de 196

El lector,

D Expediente n.º 61-57

Título: NOVELAS ESCOGIDAS

Autor: WAUGH, Evelyn

Editor: Aguilar

Importador:

Fecha entrada 4-1-67 Fecha salida

Lector n.º — Entregada

Mod. 421

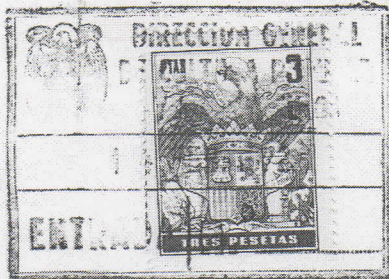
BARRABASADA NEGRA
DECADENCIA Y CAIDA
PRIMICIA
RESOLUCION: la vigente Ley de Prensa e Imprenta.
PUNADO DE POLVO, Un Madrid, 5
RETORNO A BRIDESHEAD ENE. 1967



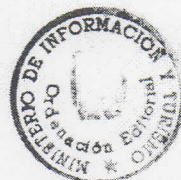
MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Ordenación editorial



Exp. núm. 1934



ARCHIVO

Tado. / p. 134 a 153

Ilmo. Sr.:

El que suscribe, D. José Ortega Spottorno, con do-
micilio en Madrid, calle Milán,
número 38, en representación de la Editorial ALIANZA EDITORIAL S.A.,
solicita consulta voluntaria prevista en el artículo 4.º de la Ley de Prensa e Imprenta de
18 de marzo de 1966 («B. O. del Estado» del 19), para la obra:
aprobada su importación por exp. 4495/62 el 15-11-70.
TITULO: LA ODISSEA DE GILBERT PINFOLD

Nombre Evelyn, seudónimo

AUTOR:

Apellidos Waugh

EDITOR: ALIANZA EDITORIAL S.A. inscrito con el número 543 en
el Registro de Empresas Editoriales.

Volumen (páginas) 246

Formato 11 x 18

Tirada proyectada 15.000 ejs.

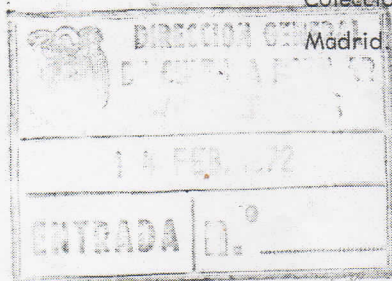
Precio de venta 60 Ptas.

Colección en que se incluye El Libro de Bolsillo

Madrid, Hora Fecha 14 de Febrero de 19 72

EL SOLICITANTE,
Alianza Editorial, S. A.

[Firma]
CONSEJERO DELEGADO



Ilmo. Sr. Director General de Cultura Popular y Espectáculos.



CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA

MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

Sección de Ordenación Editorial



EXPEDIENTE N.º 1934-72

ARCHIVO

14 FEB. 1972

Presentada con fecha
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **ODISEA DE GILBERT PINFOLD**, La

de la que es autor **WAUGH, Evelyn**

editada por **Alianza**

con un volumen de
y una tirada de

246

15.000

Madrid,

páginas

ejemplares

de 197

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES: **NO**

MC

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don

Madrid,

de

15 FEB. 1972

de 197

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

N.º EXPEDIENTE: 1934-72

TITULO: ODISEA DE GILBERT PINFOLD, La

AUTOR: WAUGH, Evelyn

EDITOR: Alianza

PAGINAS: 246

TIRADA: 15.000

50
Mod. 50
"La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold" es una novela clásicamente inglesa, en la que un hombre serio intenta narrar la historia de su vida a través de ese sarcasmo e ironía muy propia de la literatura inglesa. Evelyn Waugh utiliza un personaje escritor que tal vez pueda ser él mismo para dar rienda suelta a su espíritu crítico. No tiene nada que objetar.

AUTORIZABLE.

I N F O R M E

ml 32

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
¿A la moral? Páginas
¿A la Iglesia o a sus Ministros? Páginas
¿Al régimen y a sus instituciones? Páginas
¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el
 Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total
 de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

"La odisea de Gilbert Pinfold" es una novela clásicamente inglesa, en la que un hombre serio intenta narrar la historia de su vida a través de ese sarcasmo e ironía muy propia de la literatura inglesa. Evelyn Waugh utiliza un personaje escritor que tal vez pueda ser él mismo para dar rienda suelta a su espíritu crítico. No tiene nada que objetar.

AUTORIZABLE.

Madrid, 22 de Febrero de 1972
El lector,

A. Vázquez



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

**DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS**

Sección de Ordenación Editorial

CONSULTA VOLUNTARIA



ARCHIVO

EXPEDIENTE N.º 1934-72

Presentada con fecha **14 febrero 1972**
instancia en solicitud de consulta voluntaria
acerca de la obra **ODISEA DE GILBERT PINFOLD, La**

de la que es autor **WAUGH, Evelyn**

editada por **Alianza**

con un volumen de **246** páginas
y una tirada de **15.000** ejemplares

Madrid, **14** de **febrero** de **1972**

El Jefe del Registro,

ANTECEDENTES:

El Jefe de Circulación y Ficheros,

PASE AL LECTOR don 32

Madrid, **23** de **febrero** de **1972**

El Jefe de Negociado de Lectorado,

I N F O R M E

¿Ataca al Dogma? Páginas
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¿A las personas que colaboran o han colaborado con el Régimen? Páginas
Los pasajes censurables ¿califican el contenido total de la obra?

Informe y otras observaciones:

(C)

- Novela. Retrato de un escritor en su madurez. La mezcla de medicaciones y el alcohol le produce una confusión mental que le hace confundir la realidad y las alucinaciones, personajes vivos e imaginarios, así como crea situaciones que le hacen vivir extrañas experiencias cercanas al delirio.

- Una de estas situaciones, titulada "Incidente internacional" se sitúa en el Estrecho de Gibraltar y al mezclar la realidad de las reivindicaciones españolas con sus delirios da lugar a una serie de conceptos injuriosos para España y su Gobierno por lo que se considera que debe de ser suprimido en su totalidad (Páginas 134 a 153). Con ello se considera que su publicación puede ser AUTORIZADA.

Madrid, 23 de Febrero de 1972
El lector,

Fernando F. Monzón Altolaquirre.



MINISTERIO DE INFORMACION Y TURISMO

DIRECCION GENERAL DE CULTURA POPULAR
Y ESPECTACULOS

mc

ORDENACION EDITORIAL

Núm. 1934-72



ARCHIVO

En contestación a su consulta de fecha

14 de febrero de 1972 relativa a la obra

"LA ODISEA DE GILBERT PINFOLD" Evelyn
Waugh

se aconseja la supresión de los pasajes señalados en las
páginas 134 a 153.

Dios guarde a Vd. muchos años.

Madrid, 29 de febrero de 197 2.

P. EL DIRECTOR GENERAL
DE CULTURA POPULAR Y ESPECTACULOS,

ALIANZA.- Madrid.

Sr. D.

CV

Expediente núm. 1934-72

Título: ODISEA DE GILBERT PINFOLD, La

Autor: WAUGH, Evelyn

Editor: Alianza

Tirada:

Fecha entrada 14-2-72

Fecha salida

Lector núm.

14

Entregada

NL 32 (23-2-72)

RESOLUCION:

tail

29 FEB. 1972

APPENDIX 2

This second appendix comprises the Romanian censorship file on *Scoop*, as well as the registration cards of the novels included in the documentary fund alongside the hardcovers of these novels.

- *Scoop*, file 10/1962
- *Black Mischief*, 1932
- *Scoop*, 1933
- *Un pumn de țărăină*, 1945

Actul pentru Presa si Tijartur 1)

2)

DOSAR Nr. 10/1962

Data Inceperii: _____

Data Incheierii: _____

File: _____

Vol. _____

Prima - de
23 - la Fărcășan
gmy 11/11

N O T A

Prin Cartimex au sosit pentru Sergiu Fărcășan următoarele lucrări :

Evelyn Waugh "Sensation !" (expediată de Librăria Hachette-Franța)

x x x

"World Almanac and book of facts"
editat de "New York World-Telegram
and The Sun" 1962 (expediată de către
Bailey Bros din Anglia)

Volumul "Sensation" de Evelyn Waugh relatează istoria unui modest fermier englez devenit fără voie, corespondent de război. Cartea este o satiră la adresa magnaților presei engleze și a protejaților lor. Conflictul armat imaginat de autor, se petrece "undeva" într-o țară africană și implică "U.R.S.S.", Germania, Italia, Japonia"

Pag. 46 : "Am impresia că este un război între Roșii și Negrii. Fără îndoială însă nu este așa de simplu. Mai întâi ei sînt toți negri, și fasciștilor nu le place să fie numiți negri din cauza orgoliului lor rasial. De aceea le place să fie chemați albi, după rușii albi. Și bolșevicii se chiamă negri tot din cauza orgoliului lor rasial. Astfel cînd zicem negru vrem să zicem roșu, și cînd vrem să zicem roșu zicem alb".

Pag. 54 Autorul pune în gura unui patriot negru care reprezintă o tabără a războiului imaginat în Africa, următoarele :

"Muncitorul ismaelit este luat de gât de către o coaliție de corupți, de exploatatori străini,... așa cum bine a scris acest mare scriitor negru Karl Marx".

Reprezentantul celeilalte tabere (fascist)

spune :

Pag. 55 "...De exemplu evreii din Geneva ajutați de aurul Moscovei au răspândit zvonul că noi am fi de rasă neagră"...

Pag. 105 "Există aici un rus, un evreu care se numește Smerdyakev sosit deadreptul de la Moscova deghizat în controlor de bilete...."

Anuarul american " World Almanac and book of facts" - editat de "New York World-Telegram and Sun" cuprinde toate evenimentele politice, științifice, economice sociale din lumea contemporană, etc. prezentate denaturat, de pe pozițiile ideologiei imperialiste, în atacuri anticomuniste; se publică biografiile celor mai de seamă oameni politici americani, monografii ale țărilor lumii, etc.

Volumul are clasificare "I".

9.VII.1962

ds - 6 ex.

lector: Vasilescu El.
Răzdolescu Alex.

A V

I 286938

Waugh (Evelyn)
Black Mischief.

London, "Chapman and Hall", /1932/
VII-303 p. + 1 h.

II 245046

Waugh (Evelyn),

Scoop. A novel about journalists.

London, Chapman & Hall, /1933/
/2 f./+308 p.

I 195598

ough (Evelyn)

Un pumn de tărăna. Roman. În romă
nește de: Pelly Mătașaru.

[București],

255 p.

B. A. R. P. R.

I

286938

D

B. A. R. P. R.

I

286938

D

D.1

BLACK MISCHIEF

BY
EVELYN WAUGH



CHAPMAN AND HALL LTD.
LONDON



8

First Published

October, 1932

Published by Chapman & Hall Ltd., 11 Henrietta Street, London, W.C.2.
Printed in Great Britain by The Whitefriars Press Ltd., London and
Tonbridge, and bound by G. & J. Kitcat Ltd., London.

D

II 245046

SCOOP

SCOOP

A NOVEL
ABOUT JOURNALISTS

by

Evelyn Waugh



London
CHAPMAN & HALL LTD.
11 Henrietta Street, W.C.2

D.12.859/1957

II 245046

First published
1933

Printed in Great Britain by
The Whitefriars Press Ltd., Tonbridge
Bound by G. & J. Kitcat Ltd., London
Flexiback binding patent No. 441294



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